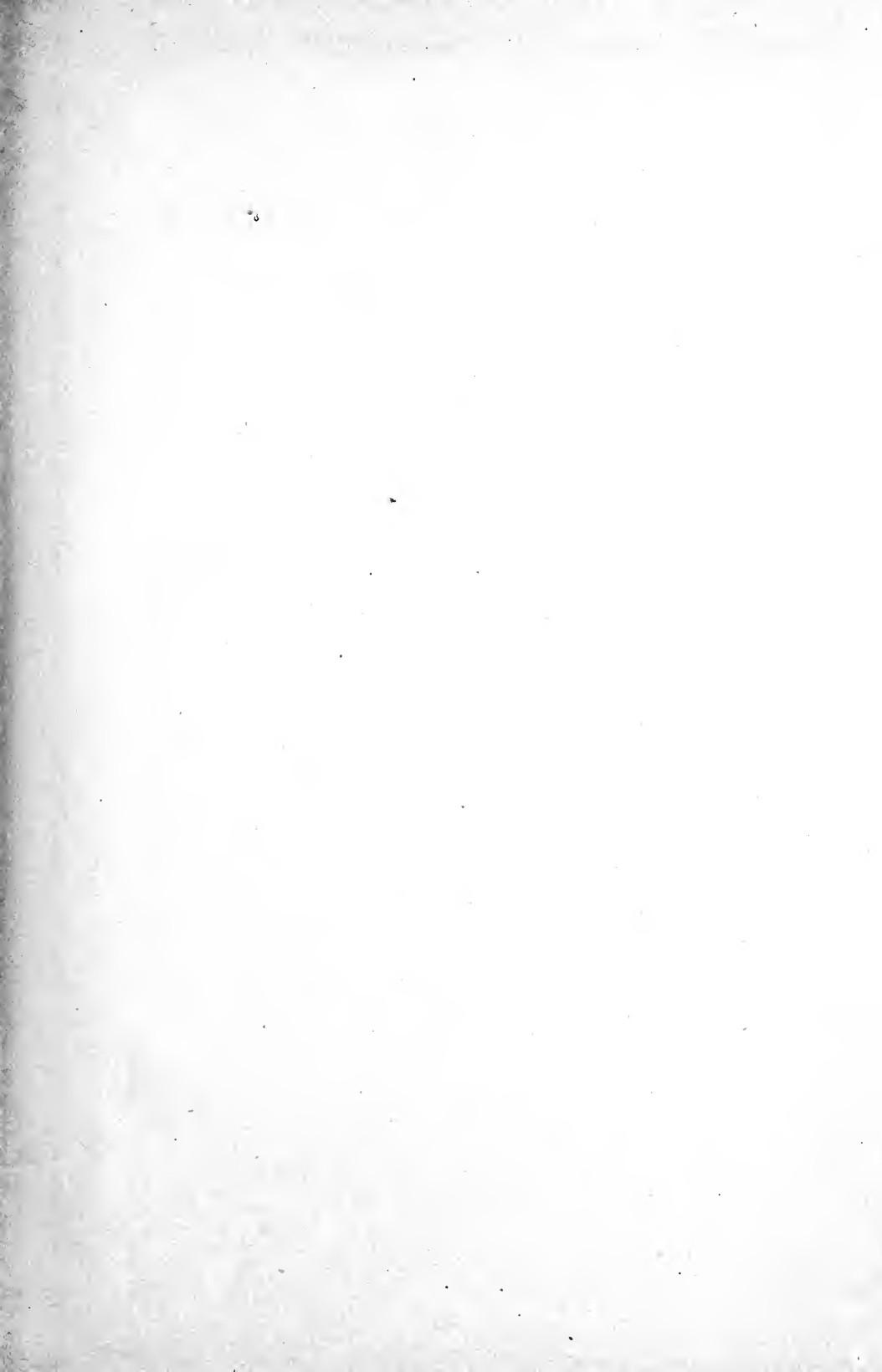


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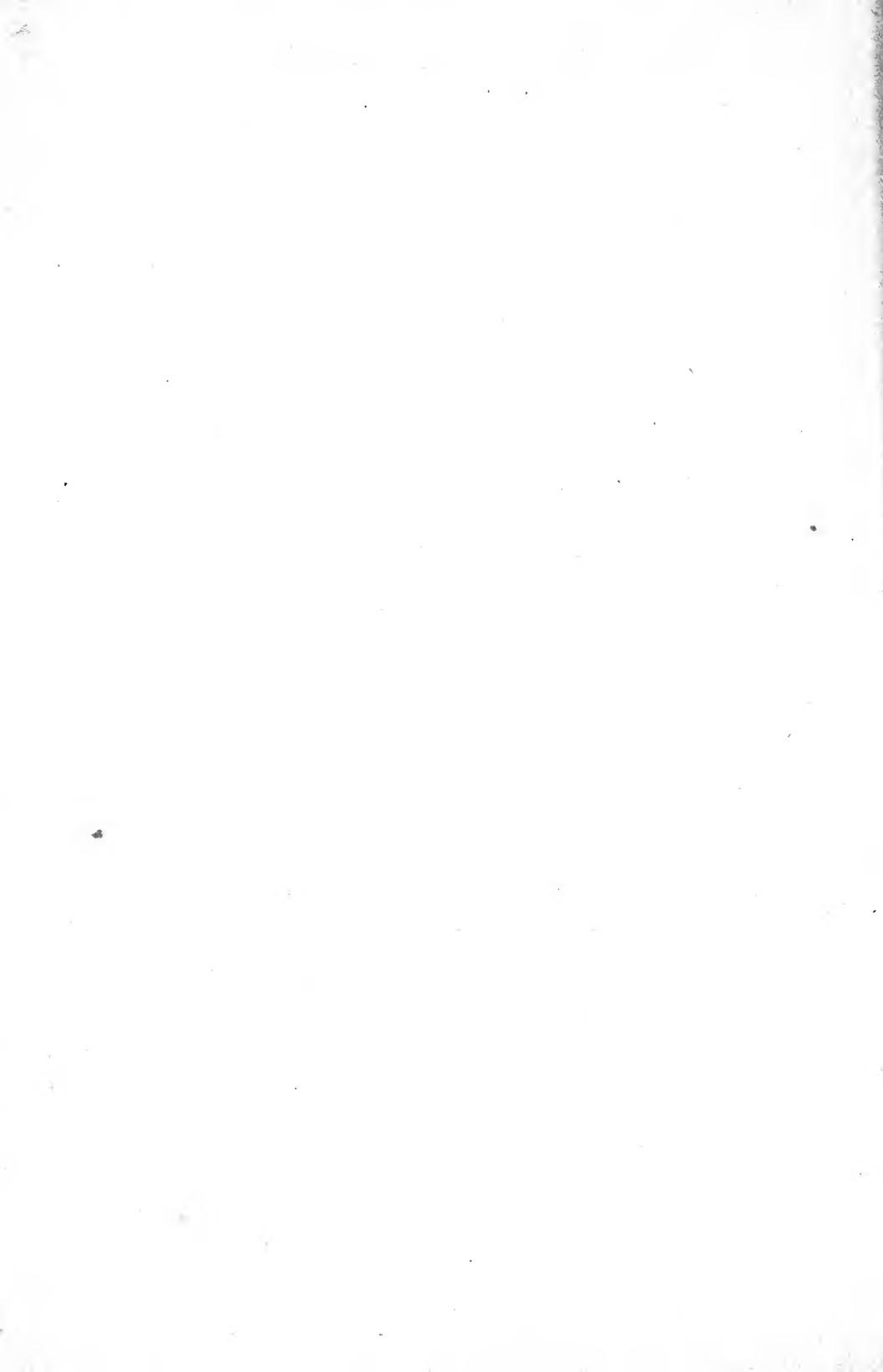
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The Amateur Plans a City

WALLACE S. BALDINGER

MUCH has been written of the father of the Santa Fe railroad. There can be no question that his achievement in railway pioneering justifies it. When the full stature of Cyrus K. Holliday is finally taken, however, much of it may be found to depend upon his genius in an art for his day nearly forgotten and almost unrecognized.

The planning of cities in some form or another had been practised ever since men first gathered to build communities; at certain periods, such as those of the Roman empire or the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries in Europe, the art assumed the proportions of a super-architecture. L'Enfant's plan for Washington had already established a precedent on American soil. Paradoxically, however, the era of America's westward expansion, one unprecedented for city-founding, had only novices and surveyors to determine the form of its projected cities.

Cyrus K. Holliday was a novice at city planning. So were his collaborators in the founding of Topeka, a handful of youthful farmers, merchants, and craftsmen from the East. All played their indispensable parts in the furthering of the enterprise. On the other hand, when Holliday in the fall of 1854 stood with his companions upon a low hill overlooking the Kansas river and dreamed with youthful exuberance of the metropolis he would fashion there, he bore an endowment destined to make him their leader in giving to the city some degree of artistic form.

The farm of Holliday's boyhood near Carlisle, Pa., had bestowed upon him an acute sense of the soil, of wind, water, and drainage. The time of his birth, April 3, 1826, was one bright with the promise of a newborn nation, filled with the pioneering spirit of men who sought in ancient Athens the precedent for their enterprise. The boy Cyrus was alive to the spirit of his time; with increasing eagerness he yearned to follow Horace Greeley's counsels to seek his fortunes in the West. His education at Allegheny College in Meadville had equipped him with a professional knowledge of law, invaluable to one destined the rest of his life to deal with men and affairs. Encouraged by the trust of the bride left behind until he could prepare a home for her somewhere on the frontier, himself

brimful with confidence over the success of his first business venture, the development of a small railroad in western Pennsylvania, and his pockets bulging with the twenty thousand dollars he had received for the sale of his share in that venture, Cyrus Kurtz Holliday was ready at the tender age of twenty-eight to conquer the frontier.

Young Holliday was keenly alive to the merits of the spot upon which he and his companions had come.¹ Below them lay the Kansas river and the Shunganunga creek, ample for water supply, potential arteries for flatboat trade. The hill on which they had stopped was fully adequate for drainage; it was sure to catch the summer breezes. Fertile farming land stretched along the river valley, ideal for potatoes. Bountiful grazing soil extended beyond the river over the uplands. Timber was scarce on the surrounding prairie, to be sure, but clay for brick was close at hand, and sand and building stone as well. Best of all, for these were the early days of Romanticism, the "pure and picturesque" view from the hilltop seemed fit to inspire an Emerson or a Kensett. Thirty years afterward, in fact, one of the pioneers who stood with Holliday that day was moved still to comment that "Topeka was a beautiful place before there were houses here, whether it be since or not."² And Holliday himself, glowing with the warmth of his hopes, wrote back to his wife in Meadville:

. . . in a few years when civilization by its magic influence shall have transformed this glorious country from what it now is to the brilliant destiny awaiting it, the sun in all his course will visit no land more truly lovely and desirable than this. Here, Mary, with God's kind permission, we will make our home.³

It was no mere accident that led to the choice of site for the city that was to become the home for Holliday's railroad and the capital of the new state of Kansas. Neither was it accident that determined the initial layout for the project. As president-elect of the new Topeka Association, organized December 5, 1854, Holliday's first task was to make the survey for the city. Available for the purpose were only the crudest of instruments—a pocket compass, two pieces of rope, and several sticks torn from bales of supplies—but little more

1. Lela Barnes, ed., "Letters of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, 1854-1859," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI, pp. 246-248 (letters dated December 10, 17 and 24, 1854).

2. F. W. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka: A Historical Sketch* (Topeka, George W. Crane & Co., 1886), p. 20. Frye W. Giles was Topeka's first treasurer, first postmaster, and first banker.

3. Barnes, ed., *loc. cit.*, p. 246.

was needed, since in the course of platting the streets the founding fathers under Holliday followed simply the lay of the land over which they walked.

The initial plat under Holliday provided the basis for a regular survey begun two weeks later by A. D. Searl of Lawrence, fixing with greater exactitude what the members of the Topeka Association had already platted and laying out additional blocks in conformance with it. The main artery, Kansas avenue, was made to follow the gentle rise of the ridge of the hill itself, and each parallel or intersecting street to lie only where the grade was easy and the drainage free. When a year later the federal survey came to be made, the professional surveyors disclosed triumphantly what they declared had been a serious error in the original plats by Holliday and Searl: Instead of drawing the streets due north to south and east to west to accord with the federal division of the land into mile-square sections, Holliday had traced the longitudinal axes with a deviation of no less than $18^{\circ}40'$ east of true north, or a point about midway between north by east and north northeast. Too late then to start anew, since many settlers had arrived during the interim and much building begun, the Holliday design remained the basis for all real estate developments in the original town and even the first additions.⁴

However convenient for the surveyor the federal practice might have been, the truth of the matter was that Holliday cared more for the immediate realities of the site than he did for the mechanical accuracy of a government plat; and the practical consequences of the founder's acumen account for two of the city's foremost distinctions today. The first distinction is excellent drainage. Under the downpours which drench Topeka every spring, the newer additions, laid out mechanically according to the cardinal points of the compass in order to parallel the federal section lines,⁵ suffer badly flooded streets, but the original nucleus of the town sheds the surplus water with constant efficiency.

The second distinction is favorable orientation, an advantage which becomes readily apparent when one notes the climatic features of the locality. Sunlight is abundant, no less than sixty-two percent of a hypothetical maximum. Characteristic of the latitude is the course of the sun in winter, farther to the south than during

4. Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-49.

5. With the single exception of Westboro, which was platted romantically in 1926 to form winding drives, containing terraces, and secluded courts.

the summer months. Prevailing winds come from the south and are usually moderate in temperature, but hot winds originate in the southwest and during June and July bring severe heat waves with them. A cold wave in January or February, on the other hand, nearly always descends from the northwest.

We know that Holliday with the background of his boyhood on a farm was keenly conscious of the local peculiarities of the weather. In a letter to his wife, dated January 7, 1855, he commented upon the sunniness of the Kansas winter and speculated over the probable warmth of the summer, observing that a constant breeze which people had assured him would continue to blow through the summer months would do much to relieve the heat.⁶

With all of this weather wisdom, Holliday perhaps wrought better than he knew in determining the orientation of the principal streets. Modern practice in the planning of housing developments and individual residences finds the original nucleus of Topeka ideal for exploiting the local climate for maximum living comfort. Built on the westerly side of any street which follows the north-northeasterly axis and facing it, or on the easterly side of the same street and facing away from it, a modern house can be so designed as to open mainly towards some point south of east, thus gaining a major share of the winter sunshine and the summer breezes. Insulated on the opposite side, the same house has full protection against the winter winds and the summer sun. The consequent economies in fuel consumption would be considerable. Such subtleties of orientation were probably unknown or merely guessed at in Holliday's time, but the facts remain that the Chase cabin, first building on the site of the town, was made to open on what became the westerly side of Kansas avenue, with an orientation thus approaching the modern ideal, that the westerly side of Kansas avenue and other parallel streets in the city has always been considered the preferable side of the two, and that such streets have always been favored for building frontages over streets following the west-northwesterly axis.

The blocks defined under the direction of Cyrus K. Holliday were generous in their areas, each occupying three and one-third acres; the twelve lots contained by each block were similarly spacious, seventy-five feet to the front and one hundred and fifty feet to the side; but the most liberal specification of all was that for the width of the streets: Seven main arteries of traffic with a right of way of one hundred and thirty feet; other streets on a north-

6. Barnes, ed., *loc. cit.*, pp. 250-252.

northwesterly axis, with one hundred feet; and the remainder, with eighty feet. The bigness of Holliday's units made him the butt of ridicule. People failed to see why a town on a prairie needed to spread out so when there was already too much open space around. As the town expanded and the traffic increased, they soon came, on the other hand, to see the wisdom of Holliday's provision for the streets. After the first World War motor traffic assumed such unforeseen proportions that even the expanses of Holliday's avenues became increasingly inadequate, until finally one by one most of these arteries had to be widened at great cost.

It was this very amplitude of the right of way in the early days, however, which provided occasion for making Topeka one of the shadiest cities in the whole region of treeless prairie. The city's first settlers were drawn mainly from Pennsylvania and New England, where the heavily wooded environment and the relatively milder summers had conditioned them to favor an active city-wide campaign of tree-planting in an effort to approximate as far as possible the homes from which they had come. This movement culminated in an ordinance of 1883 requiring a full quarter of each right of way to be set aside for flanking parkways, on which trees should be set out and tended by the owner of each abutting lot. Vigorous enforcement made it possible as early as 1905 to describe the entire residential district as "an umbrageous forest of stately elms and glowing maples."⁷

One feature of Holliday's plan for Topeka none the less remarkable for the possibility that it was suggested by the presence of a park in Lawrence, that city founded in the summer of 1854 from which Holliday and his companions had embarked upon their municipal enterprise, was its provision for a town on the fenceless prairie of two reservations of twenty acres each to be used as "public gardens." There can be no question of the original purpose of such tracts, since Holliday at the very outset planned that they should be planted with *shade* trees and kept open for the *free* use of the community.⁸ Not private estates nor the sites of city walls, which recent revolutions in Europe had converted to public pleasure grounds,⁹ not "commons" for pasture and marketing as utilized by the sev-

7. James L. King, *History of Shawnee County, Kansas, and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, Richmond & Arnold, 1905), p. 157.

8. Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 403.

9. Mrs. M. G. van Rensselaer, "Frederick Law Olmsted," *The Century Magazine*, New York, N. Y., v. XLVI, No. 6 (October, 1893), p. 865.

enteenth-century villager of New England,¹⁰ not ornamental public squares such as Penn had inserted in his plan of 1682 for Philadelphia¹¹ nor "Palace Greens" and monumental "Malls" such as Wren had planned for Williamsburg in 1699¹² and L'Enfant for Washington, D. C., in 1791,¹³ not beer gardens such as Philadelphia sported as early as 1783,¹⁴ not rural cemeteries which as recently as in Holliday's own lifetime had been converted by popular demand from weedy neglected abodes of the dead to embellished picnic-grounds for the living,¹⁵ but community pleasure-grounds included in the plan of a town from its very inception—such formed the essence of Holliday's contribution to Topeka.

The idea of a "public garden" of this nature was new to Americans, especially pioneering Americans struggling to conquer the frontier.¹⁶ The idea seems to have originated with William Cullen Bryant, as recorded in a remark to his family in 1836.¹⁷ A campaign in the periodicals of New York, waged largely by Bryant and the landscape architect, Andrew Jackson Downing, eventuated in 1851 in the projection of New York's Central Park, the first of its kind in America, in 1856, nearly two years after the founding of Topeka, in the purchase of a site for Central Park, and, in 1858, in the final adoption of a design by Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., and the commencement of actual work under him to apply that design to the site.¹⁸ Topeka stood thus with the vanguard in the nineteenth-century park movement in America.

The wisdom of including parks in the plan of Topeka was amply vindicated. The availability of one of the parks for state-house

10. Warren H. Manning, *History of Village Improvement in the United States*, quoted by Thomas Adams, *Outline of Town and City Planning* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1935), p. 120; Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones* (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1924), pp. 14, 29; Lois Kimball Mathews Roseberry, *The Expansion of New England . . .* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), pp. 1-13, 28-29.

11. Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 124; "The Voyage, Shipwreck and Miraculous Escape of Richard Castelman, Gent." (1710), reprinted by Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *American History Told by Contemporaries* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1900-1929), v. II, pp. 74-77.

12. Fiske Kimball, et al., *The Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia* (New York, The Architectural Record and F. W. Dodge Corp., 1935), pp. 360, 361.

13. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "Landscape in Connection With Public Buildings in Washington," *Papers Relating to the Improvement of the City of Washington* (Senate Document No. 94, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1901), pp. 28-34.

14. Manassah Cutler's description, 1783, quoted by Sarah Lewis Pattee, "American Parks a Century Ago," *Landscape Architecture*, v. XVII, No. 1 (October, 1926), pp. 29, 30.

15. Andrew Jackson Downing in editorials published in *The Horticulturist*, 1848 and 1849; republished in George William Curtis, ed., *Rural Essays* (New York, Leavitt & Allen, 1853 and 1857), pp. 144, 154-157.

16. William Solotaroff, *Shade Trees in Towns and Cities* (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1911), pp. 1, 2.

17. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Theodora Kimball, eds., *Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architect 1822-1903* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), v. II, p. 23.

18. *The Encyclopedias Americana*, 1937, v. VI, p. 209; Samuel Parsons, Jr., *Landscape Gardening* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895), pp. 255-294.

grounds played in 1861 a prominent role in persuading the legislature to make Topeka the capital of the state—an eventuality which Holliday had actually anticipated from the start and had sacrificed his political prospects to attain.¹⁹ When it was offered by the city for use as a campus, the other park became that same year the major inducement in attracting to Topeka a projected Episcopalian seminary for women.²⁰

However admirable its plans for housing, circulation, recreation or any other aspect of urban life, no city can endure without secure economic roots. This principle Holliday followed in his successful efforts to make the city which he had helped to create the seat of county government, the seat of state government, and the home of a college. This principle, as we have remarked, governed his advocacy of the site selected—the juncture of two waterways and two farming belts. It is true that river traffic lasted only ten years. It is true that there was insufficient drop in the bed of either stream to do much with waterpower. But a good supply of water for other purposes was always at hand, and the very gentleness of the grade in the valleys of both the river and the creek made ideal beds for railroads to build along. From the very beginnings of farm settlement the crops from the river valley and the livestock from the uplands seemed to demand a railroad through Topeka to carry them to their markets. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railway was thus from the outset not only inevitable but certain of success.

It is one thing to establish the roots for a city's economic prosperity. It is quite another to so plan the sites and functions of urban industry as to integrate them with the rest of the city's life. Colonel Holliday did both. From the very beginnings of his city until his death in 1900, he never ceased to push the fortunes of the second project of his dreams, a great railroad stretching from Chicago to the west coast of the country. He chose Topeka for its home, and in that choice guaranteed to his city the major basis for its future.

Railroads often become as much of a curse as a blessing to any community they serve—cutting through its heart, disturbing its peace with the whistle and roar of passing trains, shutting out sunlight with their smoke, drenching the residential areas in soot, befouling the streams with waste from the yards and shops. Not so

19. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 258; letters written by Cyrus K. Holliday from Wyandotte to his wife, July 14 and 24, 1859, Barnes, ed., *loc. cit.*, p. 294.

20. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

the Santa Fe as its founder and president intended. The tracks he laid not through the town but along its eastern limits, where the prevailing winds would tend to carry the noise and smoke away from the community. The shops and yards he located similarly at the northeast corner of the city, on the edge of the Kansas river well below the city, where the current of the water would likewise carry waste away from the town.

The planner of Topeka had envisioned an ultimate population of thirty to forty thousand and had planned for it in the initial areas included: 127 blocks occupying 684 acres, to which by 1870 had been added 122 blocks occupying 658 more acres. Again was Holliday's genius made manifest. By 1889 Topeka had reached his expected figure in population, with 35,622. Six years later, due to the depletion of tillable land in the vicinity, the Oklahoma rush, and the intervening depression, the population had declined to 30,151.

This loss, however, was not a serious one. Already the city had survived a civil war, two frenzied booms (1857-1858, 1886-1888), and a catastrophic drouth. The thirty thousand formed a stable population which attested to the soundness of Colonel Holliday's judgment. Properly distributed, it would have composed within the area laid out for it by 1870 an ideally compact community; after deducting the average third of the area required for all other urban purposes, the remaining 895 acres would have accommodated the dwellings of the thirty thousand with a density per acre of only 33 persons, or, according to the average size of 4.42 persons to the family in Topeka in 1890, a density per acre of only $7\frac{1}{2}$ families. Topeka would have had at least in this respect the character of a modern garden city: Radburn, N. J., model "town for the motor age," has a predetermined density per acre of only half a family less.

Cyrus Kurtz Holliday was an exceptionally able individual whose ideas of city planning were well in advance of their time. Thanks to him, no nineteenth century community enjoyed a more promising start than the Kansas capital nor came nearer to realizing in its later history the promises of its origin. Even Colonel Holliday, however, was "a child of his time." On August 12, 1855, only nine months after the founding of Topeka, he wrote to his wife:

I am offered a claim near Topeka with a good house upon it. I may buy it upon my return to Topeka and go to farming. I have rented my house

that I have in Topeka. You remember I told you last winter that it cost me some 35 or 40 dollars. I rent it for six dollars per month, or at the rate of 75 dollars per year. Pretty good investment.²¹

The speculative impulse thus reflected colored every undertaking in nineteenth century America, and the development of Topeka, even at the hands of its founder, was certainly no exception. The area of the town in 1870 was far from being its area in 1895 when the population seemed stabilized at thirty thousand. During the great inflation of the later 1880's speculative subdividers ran riot: The boom started with 23 new additions in 1886 and ended in 1888 with an all-time high for a single year of 69 more. It is true that many of these additions returned speedily to their original status as farmers' fields. But no one, not even Colonel Holliday himself, dreamed of limiting Topeka's size by law, a practice taken for granted in the modern garden city. Although the first president of the town association had anticipated a modest population and a modest area, he soon joined with the rest in welcoming every means by which the city could be enlarged.

Under this gambling fever the form of Holliday's original creation steadily disintegrated. Subdivisions were laid out on the open prairie, hastily, carelessly, so that when the city came out to join them the streets rarely corresponded; awkward jogs were the result, and triangular waste spaces too small to build upon or even to make into usable parks.

In the free-for-all scramble attending the city's expansion, some owners held their lots vacant for speculative prices; others, barred by no restriction, eager to increase the revenue on their lots, filled their 75-foot frontages with as many extra houses as they could introduce. Soon the numbering of the houses fell into great confusion; citizens were much exercised over the difficulty, and various solutions were proposed. A dentist who had bought his share in the city corporation with his lime-kiln, Dr. Franklin L. Crane, proposed the scheme which in 1887 was finally adopted. The blocks were replatted: Each original lot was divided longitudinally into three, and the new 25-foot frontages so created were each given a number.²²

21. Barnes, ed., *loc. cit.*, p. 264.

22. Note written by Dr. Franklin L. Crane under two clippings from the *Commonwealth*, date not indicated, one a letter to the editor protesting against the proposal to follow the "Philadelphia plan" in the renumbering of the streets, the other an editorial supporting Crane's alternative.—Clippings mounted in "Scrapbook of Dr. Franklin L. Crane" (unpublished; presented to Kansas State Historical Society, May 8, 1880), pp. 6, 7.

Doctor Crane was proud of his solution to the problem. Actually through it, however, he put the stamp of official approval upon a scheme for unprincipled exploitation of land which produced in Topeka the typical curse of every American city: The 25-foot lot. Houses three rooms deep, dark, close, lacking in privacy, subject to fire, difficult to rent with anything better available, and consequently neglected in upkeep—such are the progeny of the narrow lot in Topeka as elsewhere in the country.

Frye W. Giles, first treasurer of the Topeka Association and later its historian, touches another potential sore spot when he relates how, while he was on an extended visit to Chicago during the first spring of the city's history, his colleagues on the town association induced a merchant to establish a general store in Topeka by presenting the newcomer with three lots adjoining that which Giles had selected for his home. When the unsuspecting city father returned "and for the first time looked upon the important accession of Mr. Jones' store, in the locality of his future home, it were idle to say his emotions were not somewhat stifling."²³ Already in 1855 the townsman knew the disastrous effects upon residential property values of proximity to a commercial or an industrial establishment. Zoning ordinances were not to make their advent, however, for another sixty years.

Neither has a master plan for the whole city and the power to enforce it even yet been imposed. If everyone had been as able as Cyrus K. Holliday at helping to shape the city in which he dwelt, Topeka might have preserved much of its original organic form. Instead, under the anarchy practiced in the name of democracy during the closing decades of the century, industrialists built along both sides of the river, through the city and above it; they invaded the residential areas, even the city's "Park avenue," Topeka boulevard; the business district expanded, not compactly in all directions at the heart of the city, but in straggling fashion along two main thoroughfares, inviting the spread of blight; the city broke all bounds, piling out over the prairie in shapeless confusion, building on the low floodlands north of the river, hemming the Santa Fe shops with dwellings, bordering the railroad tracks with residences, tolerating squatters' shanties around the ragged edges of the town, over the open municipal dumps, along the banks of the river. Such conditions menace the existence of any city, however promising its beginnings.

23. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

It is to the credit of Topeka's citizens today that they have consulted experts at the art of city planning which Cyrus K. Holliday and his fellow-founders practiced only as amateurs. These planners have been engaged to make a detailed survey of the city of Topeka. Perhaps through that survey and the consequent designing of a master plan to be followed in its reshaping, Topeka can achieve a form even more organic than that conceived by its founders in the closing days of 1854.

Albert D. Richardson's Letters on the Pike's Peak Gold Region

Written to the Editor of the Lawrence *Republican*,
May 22-August 25, 1860¹

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

FROM a Franklin, Mass., farm home seventeen-year-old Albert Deane Richardson² set out for the West in 1851 to seek his fortune. Nine years later, when these letters were written, he had achieved success in the newspaper world as a writer and had joined the New York *Tribune* staff. His reputation had gained for him the privilege, rare in that era of journalism, of signing his initials to articles. At the time of his tragic death in 1869 at the age of thirty-six he was still on the *Tribune* staff, one of the best-known newspaper correspondents of his day.

Upon leaving home in 1851 Richardson spent about a year in Pittsburgh, Pa., where he tried, among other things, reporting for the Pittsburgh *Journal*. Discovering his talent for newspaper writing he determined upon a career in journalism. To further his ambition he learned shorthand.

In the fall of 1852 Richardson moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, and was soon established as an editor for the *Cincinnati Sun*. In succeeding years he worked for the *Unionist*, the *Columbian*, the *Gazette* and the *Times*. He married Mary Louise Pease, of Cincinnati, in April, 1855.

1. T. Dwight Thacher & Co. owned the Lawrence *Republican* in 1860. The following note by Editor Thacher appeared in the issue of May 10, 1860: "We were greeted with a call, on Friday last, from Mr. A. D. Richardson, well known throughout the territory as a lecturer and correspondent. Mr. R. was en route for Pike's Peak, where he will spend the season." We have engaged him to write frequent letters for the *Republican*, from that region. (Richardson, while on a similar trip in 1859, was a correspondent for the *Republican*.)

The letters appeared in the *Republican*, June 7, 14, 21, 28; July 5, 19, 26; August 2, 16, 23; September 6, 1860. During this period Richardson was writing letters of like content, omitting items of local Kansas interest, for the paper of which he was a regular staff member—the New York *Tribune*. They were published under the heading "From the Pike's Peak Gold Region," at irregular intervals between June 30 and November 13, 1860. One letter from this group (dated August 2, 1860) has been inserted in the above series to cover a gap in continuity. Richardson was in Denver till November 6, but his letters to the Lawrence *Republican* ceased in August. In the book *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, Conn., American Publishing Company, 1867), a best-seller of the period, Richardson described his travels and experiences from 1857 to 1866, but devoted only a few pages to incidents of 1860.

2. He was born October 6, 1833, son of Elisha and his second wife Harriet (Blake) Richardson.

Two years later Richardson decided to settle in Kansas territory. Arriving in the spring of 1857, in the midst of the slavery struggle, he was soon actively supporting the Free-State cause. He traveled extensively over the territory and in Missouri, observing and reporting. Corresponding for the Boston *Journal*, the Cincinnati *Times* and other Eastern papers, Richardson was in a position to write influentially about the fight against slavery. On July 15 and 16, 1857, together with Richard J. Hinton, he served as secretary of the Free-State convention at Topeka.

Late in 1857 Richardson brought his wife and son to Kansas. In March, 1858, they settled in the Missouri river town of Sumner, Atchison county, where he established himself as a general land agent.³ That fall Richardson was an unsuccessful candidate for representative to the territorial legislature from Atchison county. In the legislative session of January-February, 1859, he served as a clerk of the house.

Early in the spring of 1859 Richardson moved his family to Franklin, Mass., in preparation for a journey to the newly-discovered Pike's Peak gold regions. He set out from Leavenworth, K. T., for Denver May 25, on one of the first stages run by the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company. At Manhattan, Horace Greeley, publisher of the New York *Tribune*, also westward-bound, boarded the same stage and the two traveled to Denver together, arriving on June 6. In company with journalist Henry Villard, they proceeded to tour the mining districts, making a joint report on the prospects of the gold region which was widely printed.

Richardson returned to New England and in the fall made a journey to the Southwest, traveling through Kansas territory, the Indian territory, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

Early in 1860 he became a correspondent on Greeley's *Tribune*, a goal for which he had long been working. In May, Richardson once again arrived in Kansas, bound for the gold regions. The following letters describe that journey and incidents of his stay in Denver and vicinity. In November, 1860, he returned to New England to write and lecture.

Early in 1861 he undertook a trip into the South on a secret mission for his paper. When the Civil War broke out Richardson went into the field as a *Tribune* war correspondent. In May, 1863, along with other journalists, he was captured within the Southern lines

3. The Richardson's second son was born in Sumner and died there October 30, 1858, aged a little over three months. He was buried in the Sumner cemetery.

and sent to a rebel prison. After a long imprisonment he finally escaped in mid-December, 1864. His homecoming was a sad one, for his wife and an infant daughter had both died during the year.

Richardson lectured and wrote on Southern prison conditions but gave up lecturing because of impaired health. His book *The Secret Service, the Field, the Dungeon, and the Escape*, was published in 1865.

He took a stage-coach trip to California in the spring of 1865, in company with friends. Returning much improved in health, he wrote and published *Beyond the Mississippi*. In preparing his next work—a *Personal History of Ulysses S. Grant*, he traveled through many states acquiring data. This book was published in the fall of 1868.

A railway trip to California in the spring of 1869 was followed in the fall by a journey to Kansas, after which Richardson returned to New York in the best of health.

During the year he had become engaged to Abby Sage McFarland, recently divorced from Daniel McFarland. On November 25, 1869, McFarland entered the *Tribune* office and shot Richardson, wounding him fatally. Richardson died on December 2, at the age of thirty-six. Before his death he was married to Mrs. McFarland.

II. THE LETTERS

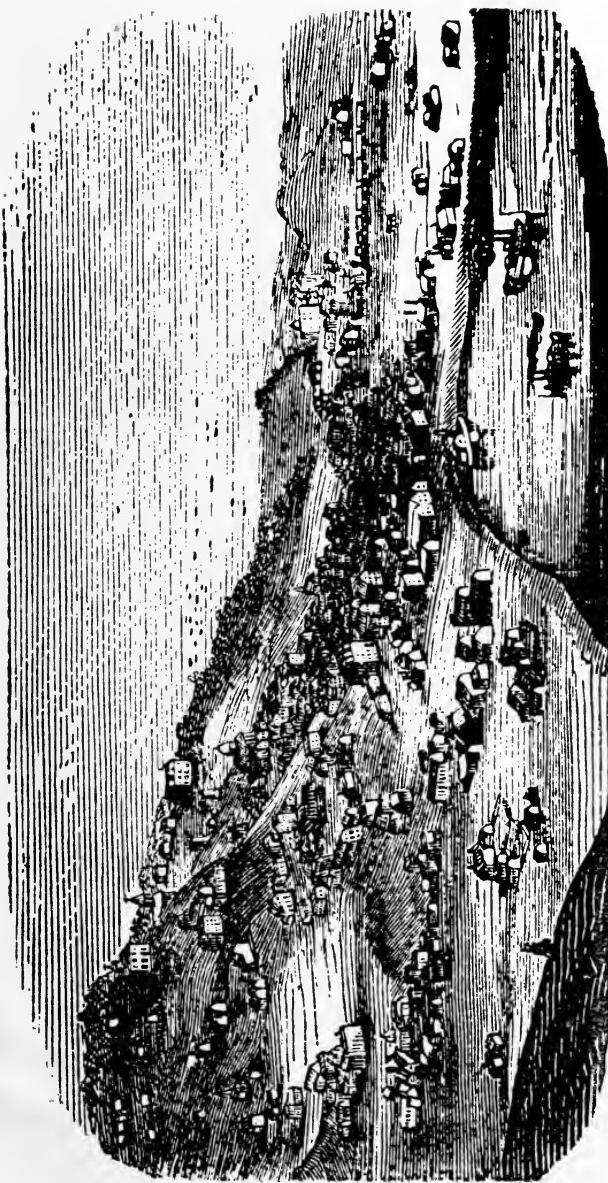
Marysville, Marshall Co., K. T.,
May 22, 1860.

MESSRS. EDITORS: In company with Thomas W. Knox, Esq.⁴ of the Boston *Daily Atlas & Bee*, your correspondent left Atchison three days ago, and—

“Thus far into the bowels of the land,
Have we progressed without impediment.”

The difference between the Pike's Peak emigration of this season and that of last year, is obvious to the most casual observer. In

4. Thomas Wallace Knox (1835-1896), like Richardson a young Eastern journalist, later had a notable career as newspaperman, author, traveler and inventor. Richardson, in his *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 287, wrote: “On the nineteenth of May, Knox and myself left Atchison in the two-horse wagon of a pioneer, who had contracted to board us on the way and deliver us in Denver for forty dollars each.” Knox, who wrote few letters to the editor of *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison (see issues of June 9, 30, and July 7, 1860), in the issue of June 9, wrote: “I left Atchison May 19th in company with A. D. Richardson, Esq., of the N. Y. *Tribune*; Messrs. A. C. & James Harrison, J. J. Pratt and J. McCausland of Atchison.” Describing the beginning of the journey, he said: “The road out to the great military track [the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Kearny military road], a distance of seven miles from our starting point, is the best leading from the river. It is not broken by deep ravines and steep hills like those from Leavenworth & St. Jo. . . . We were pleased to find a well-graded road with the streams crossed by strong and durable bridges. We camped the first night on Grasshopper creek. . . .”



ST. JOSEPH, MO., IN 1860—"FROM TELEGRAPH HILL,"

This woodcut and others of Seneca and Marysville (over) are from C. M. Clark's *A Trip to Pike's Peak and Notes by the Way . . .*
(Chicago, S. P. Rounds' Steam Book and Job Printing House . . . , 1861).



SENECA (*above*) AND MARYSVILLE IN 1860

coming to this point (105 miles), we have not seen a single pedestrian, with his "outfit" on his back; and have passed only one handcart. That was drawn by two enterprising individuals, who were *harnessed* to it, and were progressing with their load of 500 pounds at the rate of about twenty-five miles per day. They showed excellent courage, but looked as though they had already found Jordan a hard road to travel.

The road from Atchison is excellent, and emigrants who intend going by the Platte, find it decidedly for their advantage, in point of distance, to start from that city.

We have already passed ten quartz-crushing machines, and are informed here that upwards of fifty have passed this point since the first of April. At least seventy-five of these machines are now on their way to the mines. Some months must necessarily elapse before they can all be put in successful operation; but by the first of August, the receipts of gold in the states will probably be so heavy as to convince the people that Pike's Peak is a reality, after all.

The majority of those who are going to the mines this year seem to be men of intelligence, character, and ample means. Several stocks of goods, ranging in value from \$10,000 to \$30,000, are on the way.⁵ We pass many families upon the road, and females in the Gold Region will be much more plenty than they were in June last, when we were all in the habit of running to our cabin doors in Denver, on the arrival of a lady, to gaze at her as earnestly as at any other rare natural curiosity.

As we were passing through the village of Kennekuk (so called from a famous old Kickapoo chief, bearing the name of "Ke-an-ne-kuk"), an interesting race attracted a good deal of attention. An emigrant from Atchison, who had left some of his creditors in the lurch, was pursued by two deputy sheriffs, and did not discover them until they were just upon him. He put spurs to his horse, which was decidedly a fast animal, and dashed off at the top of his speed. They followed in hot pursuit, and for nearly half a mile it was about neck and neck. He dropped his overcoat on the way, but was in quite too much of a hurry to stop for it, and finally he crossed the county line a few yards ahead of them. Here their jurisdiction ceased, and while their indignation was unutterable, he begged them,

5. Knox wrote on May 29: "We have passed the following trains from Atchison: Bivins' in charge of Mr. McAfee, Fenton & Parcell's train—Mason & Hendricks—Parcell's, Auter, Grannis, Cushman & Stoner, Lukens & Gridley & others."—*Ibid.*, June 9, 1860.

with the utmost suavity, to return his kind regards to any inquiring friends in Atchison. They finally returned, taking back his over-coat as a trophy, and he went on his way rejoicing.⁶

We camped the second night near Seneca,—a rapidly growing village in Nemaha county—with at least a hundred and fifty emigrants spending the night in a little valley within half a mile of us. Very pleasant was it when on our prairie beds, to be lulled to sleep by the voices of several excellent singers, in the neighboring tents.

At that point settlements begin to grow scarce, and the principal signs of residents along the road consist of the cabins and tents of enterprising gentlemen of a commercial turn, who inform the public through very primitive signs, that they are in the grocery business, and sell beer and gingerbread. Though finding few attractions at their establishments thus far, we cannot expect, because we are virtuous, that there will be no more cakes and ale. At Ash Point a grocer seeks to captivate the hearts and purses of emigrants, by informing them that he dispenses "Butte Reggs, Flower & Mele."⁷ At present he does not seem to be overrun with customers; but how can a reasonable man expect the patronage of Pike's Peakers, when he spells flour with a "w"?

We have passed several large droves of fine cattle, en route for California. The parties taking them through expect to be from five to six months on the way.

Two or three forlorn-looking ox trains from Denver have met us on the road. The drivers look as though they had not seen soap, water or clothing stores, for several years; and the oxen, whose bones protrude at various points, to whet the appetites of attendant buzzards, trundle mournfully along, as if soliloquizing: "What shadows we are; what shadows we pursue!"

At some points the road is white with the "prairie schooners" of the emigrants, for three or four miles; and yet we are assured that the Pike's Peak migration has fallen off greatly, within the last three weeks.

Marysville is improving rapidly, and now claims some fifty houses.

A. D. R.

6. Ending an account of the same episode, Knox wrote: "He then rode leisurely into the woods near by faintly humming the pathetic song—'Do they miss me at home?'—"Ibid., June 9, 1860.

7. Knox quoted another sign: "Flower & Mell, Chese, Egse; Lagar Bear; Liker 5 cents a glass."—"Ibid.

Near Fort Kearney, Nebraska,
May 30, 1860.

MR. EDITOR: Marysville, from which I wrote you a week ago, was founded by "Governor" Frank Marshall,⁸ of Border Ruffian notoriety, and so called in honor of his wife, who bears the name of Mary. It is admirably situated, but wears the unmistakable indications of a pro-slavery town. For shooting and stabbing affrays, whisky-drinking and horse-racing Marysville can bear away the palm from all other towns in Kansas. When we passed through, the grand jury had just found a number of indictments against residents, for horse racing, and arrests were being made. Several gentlemen who informed us of the fact seemed to be in great glee at the procedure, inasmuch as Judge Elmore⁹ himself, according to their assertions, had acted as judge at one of the recent races!

Twelve miles west of Marysville we were overtaken by a most violent storm of wind, rain, thunder and lightning, which came on soon after we had camped for the night. The blasts were so sweeping that, though our tent was very strongly secured by ropes, eight or ten men within it were only able with difficulty to keep it from blowing down, by holding up the tent-pole, for two or three hours. The rain continued through the whole night, and in the morning all the members of our party looked like wet towels, except a journalistic friend and myself, who came out dry, by virtue of good luck and an India rubber blanket.

An emigrant from Lawrence, who broke an axle to his wagon while crossing the creek, before the storm came on, was compelled to remain there all night, and in the morning looked as if "he had not loved the world, nor the world loved him." Two parties from Leavenworth, containing several women and children, were also completely saturated; but when we passed, they were drying themselves by their sheet iron cooking stove, in the open air, and eagerly disposing of a breakfast of coffee and "flapjacks."

The second evening out from Marysville, while near Rock creek, we crossed the line into Nebraska. There are very few settlers in the vicinity; but a North Carolinian has started a ranche on Rock creek, and, by charging a toll of ten cents per team over a little bridge which he has built across the stream, and furnishing emi-

8. Frank J. Marshall established a ferry and trading post at the famous Independence, Mormon or California crossing of the Blue river in 1849. The ferry and ford were used by thousands of Oregon-bound travelers. At the site of a second ferry, established a few miles above, Marysville was later founded.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. X, p. 350.

9. Judge Rush Elmore (1819-1864), associate justice of Kansas territory, 1854-1855 and 1858-1861.

grants with corn at one dollar per bushel and milk at a dime a quart, he has struck a richer "lead" than the Pike's Peakers generally will find.

At Little Sandy creek, we met a gentleman from Richland county, Ohio, who, after going within two hundred miles of Denver, was badly wounded by the accidental discharge of a rifle, and is now returning home, perhaps disabled for life. Many serious and some fatal accidents of this description have occurred since the opening of the Pike's Peak emigration. Already we have passed five or six fresh graves on the route. At Big Sandy creek, where one or two ranches are established, a huge snake, six or seven feet in length, and nearly as large as a man's arm, was exhibited to us. An astonished emigrant, just as he was retiring one night, found the reptile in his blankets, and concluded that travel on the plains, like misery, makes strange bedfellows.

After passing over a dry divide from Sandy creek, we reached the fertile, well-timbered, beautiful valley of the Little Blue river, and followed it for forty-four miles. This valley now affords excellent inducements for settlers, and is capable of sustaining a dense population. When we left it, another long, sandy divide, where wood, grass and water are all scarce, ensued for nearly forty miles, at the end of which we struck the Platte river, near the junction of the great Omaha road, ten miles east of this post. With the exception of the divide last mentioned, *all* the country along our route, from Leavenworth and Atchison to Fort Kearney, is susceptible of cultivation, and much of it remarkably fertile.

Corn at this point is worth from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per bushel; sugar, 25 cents per pound, and flour 10 cents.

The emigration by the road from Omaha is quite as heavy as that by the route we have followed, and the valley of the Platte, as far as we can see, is white with "prairie schooners." Passengers from Denver by the express coaches state that they have met from 800 to 1,000 wagons per day. They speak of business as somewhat dull in the towns at the Gold Region, as the great majority of the winter population is absent, in the mines.

As yet, we have met less than a dozen wagons of returning emigrants; but there will soon be a backward stampede, though much smaller than that of last year.

Immense quantities of goods are being taken out to the mines, and the markets bid fair to be very fully stocked for the next four or five months.

Perhaps I may as well close this rambling letter (written on the prairie, while stopping for dinner) by two or three trifles which show that all the wit of the country is not confined to the older states. A day or two since our cook, in preparing dinner, accidentally ignited the dry grass around our camp, and the flames increased until an acre or two of ground was burnt over. In reply to our expostulations, he insisted that he had now fully refuted the charge so often made against him, that he would never set the world on fire! While on the Big Blue, one of our party overtook an acquaintance, bound for the mines *on foot*, and limping along as if he felt as wretchedly as he looked. "Hallo, John! What are *you* doing out here?" was the salutation of our companion. "Oh, just dancing and playing the piano," was the prompt reply. The jolly pedestrian had evidently ascertained that those who dance must pay the fiddler! And last night we overtook a California-bound emigrant, going through with cattle, who stated that he had crossed the plains three times; but, he asserted vehemently, if spared through this trip he would never try the ox *telegraph* again! "Ox telegraph," like Hamlet's "mobled queen," is "good."¹⁰

A. D. R.

Platte Valley,

25 miles above Upper Crossing, June 5, '60.

MR. EDITOR: Kearney City, two miles west of the fort, is more generally known as "Adobetown."¹¹ At present it consists of some six or eight wretched-looking houses, mostly of turf; but it is a city of magnificent intentions, and business lots are said to command from \$200 to \$250.

The intelligence of the killing of several Pony Express riders creates some apprehensions among the emigrants; but thus far all the savages on this route are peaceable toward the whites, though we have met several war parties of the Sioux, on their way to scalp or be scalped among the Pawnees.

We have encountered comparatively few returning Pike's Peakers, as yet, though we occasionally see a party of them, looking like the very last roses of summer, and breathing out all sorts of maledictions against the new El Dorado. The westward emigration continues

10. Richardson, in his *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 287, wrote of travel on the plains in 1860: "The swift mail coach was the aristocratic mode; the horse wagon the respectable; and the ox-wagon, known as the 'ox telegraph' or 'prairie-schooner,' the plebian. Oxen traveled about fifteen miles per day; horses twenty to thirty; footmen twenty-five."

11. Adobe Town, or "Dobytown," was noted for the number of its liquor establishments. See M. B. Davis' article from the Omaha (Neb.) Bee, December, 1899, quoted in Root, Frank A., and W. E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, Kan., 1901), p. 243.

enormous—far surpassing anything ever before witnessed upon the plains. While we were stopping two hours for breakfast, the other morning, more than two hundred wagons passed us; and a short time after, ascending a high bluff, I saw the green valley of the Platte, for many miles both before and behind us, teeming with the busy life of thousands of hopeful pilgrims. Tottering age and unconscious infancy—poverty and wealth—manhood and womanhood—and almost every nation in the world, were represented in the motley throng. The picture recalled the stanzas of Whittier:

We cross the prairies as of old
Our fathers crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The empire of the free.

There is something very impressive about this uncontrollable movement westward, which from remotest antiquity has impelled the human race toward the setting sun, and which now, on a great wave of human life, is bearing commerce and American civilisation to our farthest frontier, and founding a new empire at the base of the Rocky Mountains.

Among the emigrants whom we have encountered are several delicate, "lily browed" Chicago ladies; an unfortunate lady from Omaha, so reduced by recent rheumatic fever that she cannot walk alone, but is compelled to ride upon a bed; and a baby, who left the Missouri river at the extremely callow age of two weeks! We have passed about a dozen handcarts, and perhaps half as many emigrants on foot—domestic Atlases, with their little worlds upon their shoulders.

A few evenings since, after a period of most unusual and oppressive quiet, a violent storm, like the famous northerns of Texas, came on. The wind blew to a hurricane, and just as we were congratulating each other upon being safe, crash came our great tent, down about our heads. To put it up in such a storm was quite out of the question, though the conductor of our party, while lying flat upon his back, with his eyes closed to keep out the sand, gave a few incoherent directions to that effect, which several other persons insanely attempted to carry out. I chanced to be standing, holding a lantern, at the time of the catastrophe, and after it happened, devoutly wished myself in the condition of "the dog who *wasn't* there." However, I asked a gentleman beside me to be good enough to take the lantern, which he thoughtlessly did, and while I suddenly retired to bed, he had the pleasure of illuminating the scene until he found some one else willing to become a living candlestick.

After a wretchedly cold night, during which our only alternative was to "lie low and keep cool," I woke in the morning to find a large sandbank in each eye, and my clothing thoroughly permeated by the annoying substance, which had sifted in through the tent cover. At one time we were quite alarmed by the report that a drove of cattle, stampeded by the Indians, were making for us, and for a few moments the prospect of being trampled under them was decidedly promising; but the rumor proved false. The raw weather continued for about twenty-four hours, when it suddenly disappeared.

On several occasions we have witnessed the mysterious mirage, peculiar to the great plains. While journeying over the desert, lovely lakes of clear blue water, fringed with wooded shores, have revealed themselves to our view, apparently but two or three miles from the road. In a few minutes, however, with a change in the angle of observation, the enchanting vision would suddenly be transformed into low and barren hills of sand. On several occasions, among the great deserts of New Mexico and northwestern Texas, I have witnessed the same phenomenon, so perfect as almost to induce the belief that the water was real and not—

"The baseless fabric of a vision."

The Platte, or Nebraska river, along which we travel nearly the whole distance from Fort Kearney to Denver, is often nearly as wide as the Mississippi, and looks as if it might float a man-of-war; but in reality it is only navigable for small catfish. Last year, hundreds of returning emigrants attempted to descend it in skiffs, but they were nearly all shipwrecked, and in many instances drowned. One unfortunate gentleman from Boston, who lost his skiff and complete outfit near Fort Kearney, was glad to escape without a cent of money, or a single article of apparel except his shirt!

The number of families en route for the Peak is quite beyond computation. In several instances, extra saddle horses are taken along for the ladies, and the fair travelers seem to find a good deal of enjoyment on the rough journey. The bloomer costume is considerably in vogue, and appears peculiarly adapted to overland travel. We passed a bloomer, a day or two since, who apparently weighed about two hundred and fifty, and who, while her better half was soundly sleeping in the wagon, was walking and driving the oxen. Her huge dimensions gave her the appearance of an ambulatory cotton bale, or a peripatetic haystack.

Two or three Irish "jintlemen" who accompany our caravan as "deck passengers" (*i. e.*, pay \$25 for the privilege of working their passage, and walking most of the way), are an unfailing source of

amusement. While standing guard a few nights since, two of them were greatly excited by the sight of a couple of animals which they supposed were wild horses, and attempted to drive them in among the wagons, in order, as they expressed it, to "bewilder" and capture them. They afterwards turned out to be the tamest of equine quadrupeds, escaped from an emigrant; but the idea of "bewildering" a wild horse is decidedly original. Our Celts started from Atchison with five gallons of whisky, but it had all disappeared at the end of the first hundred miles, and they have since been compelled to fall back upon the groggeries along the road. When near Kearney, one of them entered a store, and asked:

"How do you sell whisky?"

"Five dollars a gallon."

"Chape enough. How much a dhrink?"

"Twenty cents."

"Chaper still! I think I'll invist that amount."

The vender of the "rifle whisky" handed a glass and bottle to his philosophical customer.

"Faith!" remarked Pat, "it'll be difficult for me to dhrink twenty cents' worth—but I'll thry."

And, suiting the action to the word, he filled the large glass *to the brim*, and drained it as easy as if it had been nectar—handed two dimes to the astonished merchant, and went on his way rejoicing. He still lives, and, after swallowing that amount of poison unharmed, may reasonably hope for a green old age.

We have encountered but few buffaloes, and they were very shy. Many of the emigrant wagons bear quaint inscriptions, like—"I'm off for the Peak—are you?" "Good bye, friends; I'm bound to try the Peak"; "The eleventh commandment: Mind your own business"; "Ho! for California!" etc. Supplies of all kinds are extremely high along the road. Raisins command 75 cents per pound, cheese 50c, and other articles are in proportion. The blacksmiths upon the route charge \$4 per animal, for shoeing.

We camped last night near quite a company from Lawrence, which included Messrs. Monteith, Coombs and lady, Bigelow, Pease, Matthews, Carpenter, Morris, and Schinner.¹² Mr. Ford, and Messrs. Whitney and company, are several days ahead of us.¹³

12. The issues of the Lawrence *Republican* for May, 1860, carry no mention of the departure of these Lawrence people. Only a few have been positively identified: William R. Monteith, S. A. Bigelow, [C. A.?] Pease, [George A.?] Matthews, Charles Carpenter and Adolph Schinner. Schinner (1831-1911), was one of the founders of Eudora, Kan.; he later worked as a printer in Lawrence, leaving for the mines in 1860. In 1876 he was a member of Colorado's first state legislature. A biographical sketch was published in *The Trail*, Denver, Colo., July, 1911 (v. IV, No. 2), p. 26.

13. O. L. Ford and T. L. Whitney.

A report has reached us that a young man from Atchison, named Robert Spotswood,¹⁴ while on the road from Denver, recently became involved in a quarrel with two men in his train, and in a shooting affray which ensued, killed one of them and wounded another.

A. D. R.

Denver City, June 12, 1860.

MR. EDITOR: As I propose to devote this letter principally to incidents on the *road* to Pike's Peak, its caption is not a misnomer,¹⁵ if it is written in the very metropolis of the Gold Region.

We met numerous parties of Sioux Indians, moving their villages. Their lodge-poles were strapped to the horses, at one end, with the other trailing upon the ground; and suspended from these poles were baskets, containing the robes and cooking utensils, papooses and squaws of these Arabs and Tartars of the desert. They nearly all begged industriously for whisky, tobacco and provisions. Some of the boys—muscular, well formed little fellows, without a rag of clothing except a single strip of cloth, used as the fig leaves were by our first parents—were excellent marksmen, hitting a target only an inch in width, with arrows, at ten or twelve paces. One party of the Sioux so frightened a span of mules driven by a gentleman in our train, that they ran away, and he was thrown from the carriage. His wife succeeded in checking the timorous animals, and he received no permanent injuries.

During the last week, we met about a dozen wagons a day, of returning emigrants. Some of the "go-backs" told the most lugubrious stories about the mines, asserting that there was little or no gold; others thought the diggings rich, but that quartz crushing alone would prove profitable. We encountered one emigrant *on foot*, alone, and without a cent of money, who had started to walk back to Leavenworth—665 miles!

We found the road white with wagons bound westward, until we reached this city. One wagon, drawn by six *cows*, bore the label, in flaming characters, "Female Express: Milk for sale." Many others carried signs setting forth that "Old Bourbon Whisky" was sold therein. One train contained an elderly gentleman from Ports-

14. Robert J. Spotswood spent a number of years in the overland stage service and later ran a stage line of his own between Denver and Cheyenne. For a biographical sketch see *The Trail*, May, 1910 (v. II, No. 12), p. 24; see, also, Root & Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 558.

15. He refers to the heading "Jottings on the Road to Pike's Peak." Succeeding letters to the Lawrence *Republican* were headed "Jottings From Pike's Peak."

mouth, N. H., weighing 350 pounds—a sort of human leviathan. The party taking him out would evidently say, with Caesar:

"Let me have men about me that are fat—

Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights."

A day or two after, as a fitting comparison to this huge person, we passed a Missouri lady nearly as heavy; so, if you hear that provisions are scarce at the Peak, attribute it to the arrival of the New Hampshire Fat Boy and Missouri Girl.

There has been some sickness on the road. A few days ago we passed a handcart party of four men. Three of them were drawing the cart containing their whole "outfit," and the fourth member of the company quite low with dysentery. Mr. G. Hopkins—a merchant from Dubuque, Iowa, who left the river in very poor health—died of the same disease, on the 8th inst., and was buried by the roadside, near Lamb's station, seventy-five miles east of this city, at the junction of the "cut-off" with the old Platte road. A package sent out by his family arrived a few hours after his death.

On the same day, a party of Chicago emigrants found the corpse of a child, wrapped in a white blanket, in a secluded spot, on an island of the Platte. The skull was broken in, and the clothing stiff with blood, and there had evidently been foul play. The body was somewhat decomposed, but the dress and form seemed to be that of a girl, five or six years old. They buried the remains on the bank of the river, three miles west of Beaver creek—endeavoring to mark the spot, so that it can be identified hereafter. The neck was encircled by a string of beads. The circumstances leave little room to doubt that the defenseless little child was murdered.

A few evenings before reaching the end of our journey, our great tent presented a novel appearance. It was filled by our own company and several visitors from neighboring camps, and enlivened by songs, and the strains of a violin. The never-wearisome, ever-amusing "Arkansaw Traveler" opened the entertainment, and was followed by many of the popular melodies of the day, in which all present who had music in their souls most heartily joined. It was a strange, impressive spectacle, to see that group of swarthy, sunburnt men, clad in the rough habiliments of the plains, lying upon the ground like a party of pirates or smugglers in their cave, while a single candle threw a dim, flickering light upon their features. As the songs called for changed from gay to grave, and one in particular was given with unusual feeling, it recalled Bayard Taylor's beauti-

ful stanza, alluding to the fact that the English soldiers, on the night before the storming of the Malakoff, made their camp vocal with one of the sweetest songs in our language:

They sang of love, and not of fame—
Forgot was Britain's glory;
Each heart recalled a different name,
But all sang Annie Laurie.

And when the words, "Do they miss me at home?"—which no wanderer ever hears unmoved—were given, some dim eyes not often used to the melting mood, and some trembling voices, told that the hearts of the singers were with dear ones far away.

But to return to the practical. We left the Platte eighty miles from this city, and came by the "cut off"¹⁶ some forty miles shorter than the old' route. It has much less sand than the old road, and is decidedly preferable for mules and horses, though there is one division without water, eighteen miles in length. We arrived here on the evening of the 10th inst., twenty-two days out from Atchison, with a very pleasant trip.

Denver is growing like Jonah's gourd, and all the mountains within two hundred miles of here are literally swarming with people.

As the express is just leaving, I must reserve details of news in regard to the mines, trade, &c., until my next.

Messrs. Monteith, Coombs and party, from Lawrence, came out a part of the way by the Republican route, and turned up north by the Pawnee trail, striking the Platte near Fort Kearney. They pronounce the road direct, easy, with good water and grass, and desirable in every respect.

A. D. R.

Denver City, June 16, 1860.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—The Pike's Peak Gold Region is just now the theater of the grandest and most rapid material development ever witnessed upon the continent. Two years ago, these "mother mountains," as the Spaniards called them, were the abode of almost primeval silence; now, they are teeming with the busy life of fifty thousand people. Twelve months ago Denver was a village of a few rough log cabins with dirt roofs and mud floors, and half of them unoccupied; now it exceeds every city of eastern Kansas ex-

16. "Our party . . . reached this place [Denver] via the "cut off" from Beaver Creek to Denver. We found the latter road excellent—only about six miles of sand, grass scanty, wood plenty, the longest stretch without water eighteen miles, and none of the water bad for stock."—Thomas W. Knox, in *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 30, 1860.

cept Leavenworth in population, and in point of bustle, activity and that indescribable air which pervades a young metropolis, it is the most *live* town west of St. Louis.

Old Denver, Auraria and Highland (now consolidated under the name of Denver City), contain upwards of four thousand inhabitants. Many of the buildings are costly and spacious, including several three-story brick edifices now in course of erection. The amount of building going on is unparalleled since the "flush times" in the early days of San Francisco and Sacramento. Two hotels, which claim to be "first class," and a large number of more moderate pretensions, are crowded with people; stages arrive and depart daily for all the different mines; one daily and two weekly newspapers are established; the streets are crowded, and the ground in the vicinity of the city is covered with the tents and wagons of emigrants.

In spite of all these auspicious indications, the Denver merchants say that business is dull and money is tight. Though Hinckley's express brought down \$10,000 from the mines, a few evenings since, the amount of dust in circulation here is comparatively small. All the Denver people, however, express the most absolute and growing faith in the mines, and predict that in two months, when the hundred quartz mills here and on the way, are all in operation, and the provisions now in the mountains (brought in by immigrants) are exhausted, business will whirl again.

Notwithstanding the reports of a few disgusted returning immigrants, the general prospects in the diggings appear excellent. Just at present, the southern mines along the headwaters of the Arkansas river, and in the vicinity of the South Fork, are attracting the most attention, and there is a great rush for them. It is reported on authority which I believe credible, that in the "California gulch," last week, four men took out nearly \$1,600 from a new claim, in a single day. Other rumors, equally large, are in circulation; but as I am not fully persuaded of their authenticity, I wait for more direct intelligence. Some people have claims to sell; hence, it is important to investigate every report before giving it full credence.

All the intelligence I can gather confirms the perfect confidence I have felt for the last year, in the vast mineral resources of this new El Dorado. I do not believe that individual miners here, with only the pan and rocker, or sluice, will ever be able, as they were in California, in '49 and '50, to realize large wages wherever they struck down their picks; but I do believe that the richest and most ex-

tensive quartz mining region in the whole world, centers within a hundred miles of the spot from which I write.

Eastern Kansas—especially Leavenworth—is very largely represented here. It is difficult, during business hours, to walk half a square in Denver, without meeting some familiar face from your section.

The "Ute" Indians, who murdered several miners, last season, are thus far very peaceable. A large party of Arapahoes (a thousand of whom have been encamped here for some weeks) have just started on a war party against them. Forty miles north of Denver, at the foot of the mountains, the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Sioux and Apaches are greatly annoying to settlers, by stealing cattle and other depredations; and as the traders supply them freely with whisky and ammunition, there is reason to anticipate serious trouble before summer is over.

The world renowned mountaineer, Kit Carson, is spending a few months here, and manifests the utmost surprise at the wonderful changes which are taking place in the country.¹⁷

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln by the Republicans, is received with great enthusiasm. When the intelligence of it reached the Arkansas mines, it was greeted with cheers which rang for miles and miles up and down the canons.

The supreme court of the people, with Judge Lynch on the bench, has just been in session here. Jacob Miller was killed by Marcus Gradler, in camp, about six miles south of Denver, on Wednesday night. In an altercation about some trivial matter, Gradler attacked Miller with an ax, and half severed his head from his body, killing him and mangling the corpse in the most shocking manner. Both parties were Germans from Leavenworth. The people immediately organised a court, with Judge Slaughter on the bench; gave Gradler a full and fair trial on Thursday, and found him guilty of murder. He was executed yesterday in the presence of an immense concourse of citizens. He made a full confession on the scaffold, which partially implicated Miller's widow and another of the principal witnesses against him, in the crime.

A. D. R.

17. Knox, also making Denver City his headquarters, wrote of Kit Carson: "I have had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of Kit Carson. . . . He is a quiet unassuming man—a gentleman by instinct—of slight frame, and is the last man I would imagine to be the bravest, and most renowned pioneer of the West. . . ."—*Ibid.*, July 7, 1860.

Colorado City, Pike's Peak,
June 22, 1860.

MR. EDITOR: Journeying on the plains seems rather to facilitate marrying and giving in marriage, for a young couple from Wisconsin were united in the bonds of matrimony in a *tent*, in North Denver, a few evenings since. I say a *young* couple, for the bride was only sixteen. The parties were utter strangers until they met on the plains, on the way here. After the ceremony by which the twain were made "one flesh," and the company had been regaled with refreshments consisting of cake, apple pies, and lemonade from a wooden bucket, the officiating clergyman was seduced away upon some false pretense, a fiddle was procured, and the event was celebrated by a merry and long-continued dance. The parties have since left for California. It is to be hoped that they will not verify Byron's couplet:

"Men wed in haste,
But they repent at leisure."

Extensive conflagrations have been raging in the mountains near Denver, for several days, giving the horizon a peculiarly deathly and ruddy glare, and sending the cinders upon the winds fifteen or twenty miles away.¹⁸ Several persons were suffocated and burned to death, a year ago this month, by similar mountain fires, and it is feared that in some cases these too have proved fatal.

The last express for the river carried in \$15,000 in dust, and gold begins to circulate freely in the towns, as the result of this season's mining, though many still complain of hard times. A friend who has just returned from the famous "California gulch" informs me that from three to four thousand miners in that locality are realising all sums, from fair wages to \$50 per day. For gulch diggings this is wonderfully rich, but your readers must not forget that at the same time thousands of immigrants through the whole mining region are doing little or nothing, and some are returning home in utter disappointment and disgust.

The five hundred Arapahoe and Apache Indians who went out to fight the Utes, obtained more than they bargained for. At first they surprised a village, killing several squaws and papooses, taking others prisoners, and stealing some sixty horses. But the Utes soon rallied and drove them away, and afterwards surprised and attacked

18. "Long's Peak and the mountains near it have been on fire for several days past. The smoke has been at times exceedingly dense and the air sultry and oppressive. Yesterday [June 21] it was quite dark at four in the afternoon—so much so that I was obliged to leave my writing on which I was then engaged."—Knox, in *ibid.*

them, while they were camping at night, killing six of their warriors, and causing them to stampede for Denver in great haste. On the way there they grossly insulted several immigrants, compelling them to supply them with provisions, and drew their cocked revolvers and rifles upon a defenseless lady whom they found alone in a log house. Unless the Arapahoes very soon abandon such proceedings, they will soon find a more formidable foe in the field than their Indian enemies. They have now interred their warriors, and are about starting upon another expedition against the Utes.

Pike's Peak, which rises to an altitude of 14,500 feet above the sea level, is still white with snow. The summit is only four miles from Colorado [City], and the intervening mountains are grand and picturesque.

I have just returned from a visit to two or three objects of much interest in this vicinity. The "Red Rocks" of Colorado are well known through this region. They are huge masses of solid stone, sharp on the summit, which rise almost perpendicularly for three hundred feet. They are utterly bare of vegetation, except a few disconsolate cedars, which manage to maintain a foothold on the sides, by some process which is a marvel to the beholder. At one point the mountain wall has been cleft asunder to the level of the adjacent valley, leaving a notch, or natural gateway.

A narrow aperture in one of the rocks, barely large enough to permit a man to crawl in by lying upon his face, leads to a cave, some eight feet in width by sixty feet in length. The smooth stone walls rise to the height of seventy or eighty feet.

The far-famed boiling fountains, which are discharged into the *Fontaine qui Bouille* creek, and give that stream its name, are about two miles from the city. One of them seems to rise out of the solid rock, and the column of water, which bubbles up with great force from some channel deep in the earth, is eight inches in diameter. The springs are three in number, and are all very strongly impregnated with soda. A little acid mingled with their water, will cause it to effervesce like the water from a soda fountain, and produce a beverage decidedly preferable to the manufactured article. The water is said to possess rare medicinal properties, and the fountains will one day become a popular summer resort. They are only a few rods apart, and all the neighboring rocks are thickly incrusted with soda from them. The creek runs between them, which would seem to indicate that the channels from which they are fed are far below the surface of the earth.

Colorado City is improving rapidly, and bids fair to be the second town in the Gold Region. Many of the houses are now vacant, the owners being absent in the mountains, designing to return in the fall. A saw mill run by water is in operation on the town site, and another—a steam mill, owned by Mr. Booth, from Johnson county—has just been started, twelve miles distant. Six or seven stores are established, and, now that lumber is to be procured, better buildings than the original log houses are beginning to make their appearance. An excellent field is open here for the establishment of a newspaper and job office, and the company offer a donation of one hundred lots to the party who will first establish one.

A company from eastern Kansas, including Dr. Walters, from Lykins [now Miami] county, and Messrs. King and Dixon, from Lawrence, recently attempted, under a charter from your territorial legislature, to levy toll on the road from this point to the South Park.¹⁹ They did some work on the road, but the Colorado people, who had expended much labor upon it before they commenced, insisted that it should continue a free road, and warned them to desist. They continued to charge toll, however, until a party of Colorado boys visited them one morning, tore down their toll gate, and burned their houses. When last seen they were on the way to Denver, proposing to "sue" the persons through whom they had thus "come to grief"; but in a country where there is no law, that procedure would be rather farcical.

There are several old residents of Lawrence here, including Messrs. M. S. Beach,²⁰ C[harles]. Pearsall and Dr. Garvin. Messrs. Dalton & Ropes²¹ have established their quartz mill and opened a trading

19. This was "An Act incorporating the Pikes Peak and South Park Wagon Road Company."—*Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas Passed at the Special Session of 1860* ([Lawrence] S. A. Medary, printer [1860]), pp. 454, 455. William Walters, William J. King and T. C. Dickson, incorporators, were empowered to build a wagon road from the Soda Springs (near the base of Pike's Peak) west into the South Park mining district. The act provided that no toll should be charged before ten miles of the road were completed, and that the charge should be regulated by the length of actual road construction. The tolls were specified as follows: "For one wagon and one pair of horses, mules, or one yoke of oxen, one dollar, and for each additional pair of horses, mules, or yoke of oxen, twenty-five cents; for horse and buggy, fifty cents, and for each additional horse, fifteen cents; for horse and rider, fifteen cents; for loose horses, mules, or cattle, fifteen cents per head. . . ."

20. Melanthon S. Beach arrived in the gold region in 1858. He was one of the original Colorado City townsite company. In 1862 he was a member of the second territorial legislature of Colorado.—*The Trail*, November, 1917 (v. X., No. 6), p. 30; Corbett, Thomas B., *The Legislative Manual of the State of Colorado*, First Edition (Denver, Denver Times Publishing House and Bindery, 1877), p. 214.

21. "Our old friend, B. F. Dalton, who has been so long in the clothing business in Lawrence, starts this week with his entire stock of goods for the Pike's Peak regions. He has already one stock of goods there, and is largely interested in a quartz mining enterprise. . . ."—*Lawrence Republican*, May 31, 1860. Edward E. Ropes, who came to Kansas territory in 1854 with the second New England Emigrant Aid Company party, was the son of Mrs. Hannah A. Ropes, author of *Six Months in Kansas*—one of the early books about the territory.

house in the Gregory diggings. Mr. Collamore,²² who has been here a few days making some investments, starts on his return to Boston, tomorrow.

A. D. R.

Denver City, June 26, 1860.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN:—This region is becoming so fast that the people are quite dispirited if they don't hang a man once a week. We have had another murder, trial and conviction, and should have had another execution but for the sudden and unexpected absence of the principal actor in the tragedy.

On Thursday evening, in camp four miles below this city, two teamsters belonging to the train of John Farrier, of Platte City, Mo., became involved in a quarrel. One of them—J. B. Card—was fatally stabbed in the abdomen by the other, named W. F. Hawley,²³ and died on Saturday morning.

Hawley was immediately secured, and placed on trial for murder, in a self-constituted court, held in the open air under a large cottonwood tree, on the spot where Gradler was tried and convicted a week before. Judge Purkins,²⁴ of Leavenworth, defended him; but the testimony was conclusive that he was the aggressor, provoking the quarrel with an unarmed and unoffending man, and then stabbing him.

The jury, after being out three-quarters of an hour, found him guilty. The presiding judge then submitted the question to the crowd present, consisting of four or five hundred people, as follows:

“Gentlemen, you who are of the opinion that the verdict is just, will say Aye.”

The response in the affirmative was apparently unanimous.

“Contrary-minded, No.”

A single voice feebly answered, “No.”

The idea of thus putting the question of a man's life or death, like a motion in a caucus or lyceum, impresses a stranger as peculiarly novel.

The prisoner had nothing to say in extenuation of his offense, and was sentenced to be executed on Monday (yesterday). But during the same night he escaped from the officers having him in charge, and simultaneously with him disappeared two of his intimate friends, and a wagon and pair of mules belonging to a citizen of Denver.

22. George W. Collamore. *See, also, Footnote 26.*

23. Knox gave this name as William F. Hadley and stated that J. B. Card was from Quincy, Ill.—*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, July 7, 1860.

24. George W. Purkins, member of law firm Purkins & Monroe, Leavenworth.

The general belief (though I cannot learn that it is based on any absolute evidence) is, that the officers were *bribed*. Great excitement and indignation prevail. Any unfortunate fellow who may be caught, charged with a capital offense, before this intense feeling subsides, will be very likely to be hanged first and tried afterward.

There are now fifty steam quartz mills in the northern diggings, of which "Gregory's" is the center and nucleus. Only six are yet in operation, and some of these thus far are failures, from imperfect machinery and adulterated quicksilver, which proves utterly worthless for separating the gold from the dirt. In one case, from this cause, a cord of quartz supposed to contain \$200 yielded but \$2. The only quartz mill from which I have reliable figures, employs twenty-five men, and is yielding from \$300 to \$400 daily. There are about fifty *arastras*²⁵ in the diggings, run by horse, mule and water power, and said to be "netting," on an average, \$25 per day.

The news from the Arkansas diggings continues very favorable. Little quartz, thus far, is found in those southern mines, but some of the gulch diggings are of almost fabulous richness.

G. W. Collamore, Esq.,²⁶ formerly of your city, has ransomed a remarkably interesting and fine-looking little "Ute" boy of seven or eight years, who was taken prisoner by the Arapahoes a few days since; and this morning he starts with him for Boston, where he is to be educated. A showy horse, thirty-seven half dollars, and other presents, amounting in all to about a hundred dollars, constituted the ransom. The little native American takes very kindly to his benefactor, and now that he is decked out in new and gaudy Indian habiliments, in place of the very limited fig-leaf bandage which covered his nakedness before, seems to consider himself the father of all the Indians. He accompanies Mr. C. in all his walks, wrapping his little blanket about his breast, and stalking along with all the dignity and gravity of an old Roman.

You recollect the famous "Wheelbarrow Man,"²⁷ of last season's notoriety? He was shot through the hand a few days since, by the accidental discharge of his revolver, in his pocket. He was a good deal "shot in the neck" at the time, but was not seriously injured by the shot in the hand. Such men seldom are. Your desperadoes

25. *Arastra*—a rude drag-stone mill for pulverizing ores, especially those containing free gold.

26. George W. Collamore returned to Lawrence and was mayor in 1863. During Quan-trill's raid on Lawrence, August 21, 1863, he escaped from the guerrillas, but died during the attack, victim of an accident.

27. Alex O. McGrew. Richardson has more to say about the "Wheelbarrow Man" in his letter of August 25.

who frequent gambling saloons, carry two revolvers and a bowie knife, and are shot at almost every day, always seem to escape uninjured; while your excellent, mild, inoffensive man, who would not harm a kitten for the world, while walking home from market is crushed by a falling brick, or "laid out" by a stray bullet. Of course, to assert this as a general principle would be absurd; but does it not often *seem* to be the case?

The immigration for the last two days has been very heavy. Comparatively few are going back, as yet. The nights are very cold, and showers, accompanied by thunder and lightning, of daily occurrence. Two or three nights since, just before retiring, I found a yellowish reptile, nearly three feet in length, snugly ensconced in my couch. He soon became convinced that he was the wrong snake in the wrong place—for I of course administered to him the only form of justice prevalent in this country—lynch law.

A. D. R.

Denver City, July 3, 1860.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN: James P. Beckwourth, the notorious mountaineer who was formerly a chief among the Crow Indians, is now sojourning in this city. Some of your readers may remember his narrative of personal adventures, published by the *Harper's* a few years ago—a work which contains more incredible and impossible stories than that of Baron Munchausen himself. Mr. Beckwourth was married, a few days since, to a young lady named Letbetter, though in his book he has informed the world that he had already *eight* wives among the Crows.²⁸

The Indian troubles are attracting considerable attention. A meeting to take the matter into consideration has been held, but resulted in nothing more important than the appointing of a committee to wait upon the Arapahoes, to expostulate with them, and requesting congress to appoint an agent for the tribe. A member of the committee of arrangements for "the Fourth" suggested that the proper method of honoring that anniversary would be to "wipe out" the Indians altogether; but the humane proposition was rejected.

Trade is growing brisk, and prices continue high. John Armor, Esq., of Atchison county, recently took a heavy stock of goods into

28. *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Mountaineer, Scout, and Pioneer and Chief of the Crow Nation of Indians . . . Written From His Own Dictation*, by T. D. Bonner (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1856). LeRoy R. Hafen's article "The Last Years of James P. Beckwourth" in *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, August, 1928 (v. V), pp. 134-139, gives the information (p. 137), that Beckwourth married Elizabeth Lettbetter, daughter of Denver's first laundress on June 21, 1860.

the Gregory diggings, and during the first week after opening his store sold upwards of \$7,000 worth of groceries, provisions and hardware.

The express brings in and takes out about five thousand letters per week, for which the writers and recipients are compelled to pay twenty-five cents each, in addition to the government postage. The recent "letting" of the mail contract to this place is believed to be merely a nominal affair; it is expected that the Pike's Peak Express Company will control it, and compel us to submit to this heavy tax through the season.

Gaming is carried on universally and openly. A few weeks ago, a citizen of Denver sacrificed \$1,000 and a valuable building, in an hour or two at a monte bank.

A woman from Missouri, some fifty years of age, recently passed through Colorado, with a yoke of oxen, a wagon, four hens and a small supply of provisions. She was an ex-Californian; had come through from the Missouri river *alone*, and was on her way to the Golden state, expecting to end her days there. She had driven a handsome trade on the way, selling eggs at two dollars per dozen, and realising fourteen dollars on a quantity of Hungarian grass-seed which cost her precisely fourteen cents in the states! She will do to travel.

Journeying across the plains is a sore trial to the tempers of persons thus thrown in contact. Many instances of bitter quarrels among persons traveling in the same company have occurred this season. The most ludicrous case was that of three Leavenworth ladies (I should say women), on their way to join their husbands, who are in business here. After favoring each other with all the current gossip and scandal in regard to their respective husbands, they commenced relating the pleasant things they had heard about each other; and at last actually fell to scratching and pinching! One of the number found her situation so uncomfortable that she was compelled to leave the party and take another conveyance; long before they reached Denver. In another instance, a man became so angry with his partner that the company were compelled to tie his hands behind him, to prevent an assault. In still another, a brute left his wife alone upon the open prairie, and could not be induced to go back for her until the muzzle of a cocked revolver, in the hands of a stranger, brought him to a sense of duty.

The discontented immigrants have reduced the price of travel to

low figures. Opportunity can easily be found to ride to Omaha and Leavenworth for from \$15 to \$25, including board; and to California for \$50.²⁹

As yet, there is no strictly legal practice in the towns, but claim cases in the mines enable the lawyers to reap a rich harvest. I hear of single cases in which \$500 fees have been earned and paid. The courts are very primitive—held in the open air, and presided over by a judge elected by the people. The only laws are the "claim" or "squatter" laws, which differ in every district. There is a great jealousy of legal authorities, and one unfortunate young attorney lost a good case by citing Greenleaf on Evidence, to establish one of his positions!

An old citizen of eastern Kansas—A. C. Swift, Esq., formerly of Leavenworth and Atchison, and once connected with the Valley Bank—has been enjoying a very lucrative practice in the Eureka district. But a few days since he became *too* anxious to gain a case, and was convicted of forging a deed. He would have been hanged, but from the sympathy felt for his family; and was finally let off with a peremptory order to leave the district, which he was very glad to obey. There are several more of your old residents whom you would do well to send out here. They would be very likely to have justice meted out to them, which is a good deal more than they ever received at home.

We hear, almost daily, of the discovery of new and rich leads among the mountains.

The story that [Isaac V.] Fowler, the defaulting New York postmaster, has been in this region, is unquestionably a hoax.

A. D. R.

Denver City, July 10, 1860.

"The Fourth" was celebrated throughout the Gold Region with a good deal of enthusiasm. In this city a procession was formed, consisting of the Sabbath School children in goodly numbers, the Masons and German Turners, in uniform, and the citizens generally, with a dozen carriages filled with ladies. At Parkinson's grove an oration was delivered by John C. Moore, Esq., mayor of the city; and with the usual public exercises, interspersed with excellent music, the day passed off pleasantly. One of the features of the

29. Wrote Thomas W. Knox, on July 2, 1860: "The return emigration is nearly the same from week to week, about a hundred leave each day for the States. The fare to Atchison and St. Joseph is \$12, to Omaha \$10, the passengers boarding themselves."—*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, July 14, 1860.

celebration was the presentation of a flag, by the ladies of Denver, to the Pioneer club. The "Pioneers" received it with due dignity, and a fitting response was made by the president, who is one of the oldest inhabitants, having actually been here something more than twelve months! A man named John Teef was shot, at the race course, during the afternoon, by a gambler from Camp Floyd,³⁰ named James Ennis. An attempt was made to arrest Ennis, but his brother gamblers drew their revolvers, and would not permit him to be taken. Subsequently, while he was endeavoring to leave the ground, he was shot at and then arrested on behalf of the citizens, by Geo. Wynkoop, Esq.; but the gamblers rescued him, furnished him with a mule, and started him out of the country. The affair has caused a good deal of feeling, and some are suggesting the formation of a vigilance committee, to deal with the Camp Floyd desperadoes.

In Golden City, fourteen miles west of this place, the day was very pleasantly celebrated, in a spacious hall, decorated with the aromatic boughs of the fir and the pine, fresh from the mountains which overhang the town. After the oration, several gentlemen formerly from eastern Kansas were called out for brief speeches; and the company was afterwards regaled with an excellent free dinner, prepared by the ladies of Golden City.

In the mountains there were public exercises in several localities, and though the large amount of bad whisky in circulation made the hilarity somewhat boisterous, excellent feeling generally prevailed, and all seemed to feel that however far they had come from their former homes, they were not beyond the reach of that good old American institution, the Fourth of July.

New quartz mills continue to arrive daily. From the northern mines we have nothing new, of special interest. From the California gulch the reports continue exceedingly favorable. A gentleman engaged in trade there showed me, yesterday, some of the finest specimens of virgin gold I have ever seen, in nuggets worth from \$5 to \$10 each. They are taken out within a few yards of his store, and during the day upon which they were procured, six men took \$300 from the claim.

Another gentleman who has just returned from the California gulch, estimates the number of people there (including women, children, traders and loafers), at five thousand. He is confident that at least \$15,000 is being taken out daily, though no machinery is in use

30. Camp Floyd. See Footnote 33.

except sluices. He saw two men take \$150 from one claim, in two hours, and saw \$5 washed from a single panfull, on another claim. On the Saturday before his arrival, twelve men took out \$725 from the claim of the 'Messrs. Earl Brothers.'

My informant, whom I believe to be strictly reliable, saw very few immigrants returning from the California gulch, though, as in all other diggings, however rich, he met many idlers there. All admit that the mines in that vicinity are of surpassing richness, and the general feeling is that those gulch diggings, where small parties can obtain the gold, without machinery, are better for the development of the country than the richest quartz leads, which can only be worked profitably by a heavy outlay of capital.

Messrs. Clark, Gruber & Co., the well-known Leavenworth bankers, have completed their large brick building, and will commence operations in a few days. In addition to a general banking business, they will issue coin, with their own stamp upon it, in denominations of \$20, \$10, \$5, and \$2.50. They have the best of facilities for assaying, and design to have their coin (which will only be alloyed by the silver which is mingled with it) so pure that it will be worth par at the mint. Their machinery for preparing and striking the coin is extensive and excellent, and will enable them to turn out \$50,000 per day, should the demands of the country require it. They will manufacture about \$10,000 at the first minting, which is expected to be completed this week. On account of its great superiority over gold dust, in point of convenience for circulation, their coin will undoubtedly be largely in demand.³¹

Sugar is selling in this market at from \$25 to \$28 per hundred; coffee at the same rate; flour at from \$11 to \$14; nails at \$18 to \$20. Lumber commands from \$40 to \$55 per thousand. Brick are worth from \$15 to \$18 per thousand in the wall, and \$10 to \$12 at the

31. The brothers Milton E. and Austin M. Clark, together with E. H. Gruber, founded the banking firm of Clark, Gruber & Co., in Leavenworth in 1857. They established a branch office in Denver in 1859. The following year they erected a brick building and set up equipment to mint gold coins. Thomas W. Knox on July 9, 1860, wrote from Denver: "Clark, Gruber & Co. will commence in a day or two issuing coin from their Assay Office. I was yesterday shown a pattern piece from their mint. It bears on one side the ever-prominent American Eagle, and the words 'Clark, Gruber & Co.' near the edge of the coin, with the date, '1860,' in the usual place. On the reverse is a picture of 'the Peak' with the words 'Pike's Peak Gold' above, and 'Denver' beneath it. 'Ten D.' appears in its appropriate position. The gentlemen have facilities for coining fifty thousand dollars per day. . . ."
Freedom's Champion, Atchison, July 21, 1860. The first coins from this privately operated mint were stamped on July 20, 1860. As Richardson states above, four denominations were issued. In 1861, coins of the same values were minted. A U. S. statute, passed April 21, 1862, provided that a branch of the U. S. mint be located at Denver. On March 3, 1863, the President approved Senate Joint Resolution No. 132, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase the lots and improvements of Clark, Gruber & Co. for use as the branch U. S. mint in Denver.—*The Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 3 Sess. (Washington, 1863), pp. 1360, 1513. The State Historical Society of Colorado has a complete set (8) of the rare gold coins issued by Clark, Gruber & Co.—See *The Colorado Magazine*, v. X, p. 82; v. XIII, pp. 230, 231.

yards. Dry goods and stationery sell at an advance of nearly a hundred per cent. on Missouri river prices. Rents are very high. One of the gambling houses in town is rented for a year at \$300 per month, and many of the small business houses rent at \$100 per month. Buildings ordinarily pay about ten per cent. per month on their cost. Money commands ruinous rates; in many instances it is letting at from 10 to 25 per cent a month. Common laborers receive from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per day. Mechanics' wages are very high. Board ranges from \$7 to \$12 per week. Persons bringing out staple goods from the river realise large profits, and will continue to do so through the season, as prices, sixty or eighty days hence, will be higher than at present. The supplies brought out by the miners are nearly exhausted, and there is not the slightest danger of glutting the market.

Oxen, horses, saddles, wagons and harness sell at low prices. In the California gulch (125 miles from this city) sugar sells at \$40 per hundred, and flour at \$23. Building hardware is in good demand.

The materials for two newspapers are on the way here, and in a short time there will be five journals issued in the Gold Region.

I append a list of the principal Lawrence people in this region, and the localities in which they are residing:

DENVER CITY—Lewis N. Tappan, A. C. Soley, A. M. Stanbury, Robert Hamilton, Miss Kate Daly, Chas. Carpenter and lady, W. R. Barnes, John Irwin, George Sholes, Wm. A. Newcomb, S. A. Bigelow, Chas. Haskell, Wm. H. King, John Stone, O. L. Ford, Geo. Sharp, Geo. Locke.³²

GREGORY DIGGINGS—Joseph Boyer, Harry Phlegar, Horatio Babcock, John Collier, B. F. Dalton, Edward Ropes, George Smith, Chas. Enos, Frank Cobb, Charles Montandon, George James, John G. Crocker, Hanscomb and brother, Alexander Mears, T. L. Whitney, A. Cutler, Wm. Rankin, W. Andrew, H. F. Parker & Co., Thos. Parsons.

TARRYALL DIGGINGS—Phillip Woodward, H. Dunshee, J. Shroyer and lady, Miss Jennie Cowan.

MONTANA—Wm. Boyer, Andrew Spicer, J. T. Yonker.

ARKANSAS DIGGINGS—John Easter, A. French.

Mt. VERNON—Mrs. Brewer.

COLORADO CITY—M. S. Beach, Chas. Pearsall, Dr. Garvin, A. Z. Sheldon, F. A. Spencer.

32. Thomas W. Knox, on June 15, 1860, wrote: "The following Atchison men are in Denver: Messrs. Graham, Whittaker, Pratt, Athearn, Sherry, Beidler, Voorhes, Collier, Barlow, Walters, Fletcher, Kelch, Cooper, Grimes, Beauchamp, Wagner, Earle, Wm. T. Moore & lady, Chase, Edwards, Gilbert, Parmely, G. W. & S. Potts, Stevens, Quinn, Hutchinson, Pervost, and many others."—*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 30, 1860.

Considerable excitement has existed for the last day or two, in regard to new diggings discovered on the sandy bank of Cherry creek, about a mile from this city. They are said to "prospect" from five to fifteen cents to the pan, and several hundred claims have been taken. Before I write again, the excitement will have subsided somewhat, and I shall be able to give you reliable intelligence.

A. D. R.

Golden City, Pike's Peak, July 19, 1860.

MR. EDITOR: A few days since, a miner in the Gregory diggings erected a cabin on what he supposed the least valuable end of his claim, and covered the roof with poles, hay and dirt. A very violent storm on Thursday caused the frail roof to leak; and, on ascending to repair it, his astonished eyes detected a shining nugget of gold, which had been thrown up in a shovelfull of dirt, and washed bare by the rain. On weighing it, it proved to be worth \$42.80.

In the Clear Creek diggings, last week, a German was found guilty of stealing twenty-five dollars. His judges administered to his back twelve lashes, gave him \$4.80 (as he was in ill health and out of money), and warned him out of the gulch. The case was a good deal like that once tried in Pennsylvania, where a sportsman was charged with hunting deer at a time of year when it was prohibited by law. The complainant, under the statute, was entitled to half the penalty. The accused was found guilty, and the Dutch justice sentenced him to pay a fine of \$30, and receive thirty lashes. His Honor insisted that the letter of the law should be carried out, and caused \$15 of the fine and fifteen of the lashes to be given to the prosecuting witness! He never engaged in the informing business afterward!

A regiment of U. S. troops from Camp Floyd (which we are told is to be abandoned) passed through Denver, three or four days since, en route for Fort Garland, New Mexico.³³ They were commanded by Col. Morrison, and their ultimate destination is understood to be Arizona. They had been camping out in the heavy rains, and presented a lamentably bedaubed and bedraggled appearance, as if they had been through a sausage machine.

The conduct of "our country's brave defenders," on finding themselves again in a city, was not commendable. Scores of them be-

^{33.} Camp Floyd was established in August, 1858, in Cedar valley about thirty-six miles south of Salt Lake City, during the Mormon difficulties. Early in 1861 its name was changed to Fort Crittenden; later in the year the post was abandoned. Fort Garland in present Colorado was established in 1857. The officer mentioned above was Lt. Col. Pitcairn Morrison, Seventh U. S. infantry.

came extremely drunk in an incredibly short period. A party of three rushed headlong into a private house, and, finding only ladies in the room, saluted them with the somewhat familiar address: "How d'ye do, girls?" The sudden appearance of three gentlemen from an adjacent apartment caused them to apologise profusely, and depart abruptly.

Another "soger" was so affrighted at some rough usage during the evening, that he rushed frantically into the meeting of the Typographical union, and begged protection. Subsequently, at his own request, one of the typos, with gun on shoulder, escorted him to the nearest gaming saloon. Still another took umbrage at being called a "bould soldier boy" by a citizen, and proposed to settle the affair by fisticuffs, on the spot. The citizen (belonging to the class who "strike out from the shoulder") acceded to the proposition with great cheerfulness and alacrity, instantly removing his coat, and declaring that he had just as lief whip a dragoon as anybody else. The "militantary" thought him a little too willing, and rode abruptly away.

The last exploit of a detachment of the regiment, after sundry free fights, was to steal \$175, three gold watches, and \$200 worth of jewelry, from a house of prostitution. On pursuing and overtaking the regiment, the disconsolate proprietor found that the thieves had deserted, taking eighteen horses with them, and that twenty dragoons had gone in pursuit.

We were visited, on Thursday, by the most terrific storm of hail and rain that I ever witnessed. It continued only about an hour, and over eight inches of water fell. When the hail had descended for fifteen minutes, it seemed to lie thick enough for good sleighing. The water poured down through Denver toward Cherry creek and the Platte, in immense currents—often two feet in depth, and the lower part of the city was temporarily submerged. Major Bradford's cellar was converted into a great reservoir of muddy water, which destroyed goods to the amount of \$3,000. A large adobe building with brick front, which M. C. Fisher, Esq., is erecting on Blake street, was undermined, and the wall washed into an adjacent cellar. The Metropolitan drinking saloon was struck by lightning, but no serious damage done. Many fatal accidents from lightning have happened within a hundred miles of this place, during the season.

Denver is growing decidedly lively. A shooting or stabbing affray occurs almost daily. A Negro was shot *five* times, a few evenings since, by another person of color; but, like Webster, he "still lives,"

and is likely to recover. As one of the local paper remarks, "we suppress the names, as the parties may have respectable connections in Africa."

The general intelligence from the mines continues good.

B. F. Dalton & Co., of your city, have opened an extensive clothing house in Denver. Mr. Grisby, of Grasshopper Falls, is working a claim in California gulch, which yields two pounds of gold per day. J. C. Bowles, of the same place, is in the Gregory diggings. P. P. Wilcox,³⁴ of Atchison, arrived on Saturday last. George W. Howe, of Sumner, (of the firm of Starr & Johnson,) started for the states on Monday. His large train is in advance of him, and will leave Atchison and Leavenworth on its return trip about September 5th, taking out any amount of freight which may be desired. Hon. E. P. Lewis³⁵ and J. J. Hull, of Sumner, are in the Gregory diggings.

The Rock Island quartz mill, in the Gregory diggings, after running twenty-four hours, on "cleaning up" yesterday morning was found to have yielded \$2,000.

Times are improving, and the gold dust is beginning to flow into the towns. Hinckley's express last evening brought down \$2,200 from the Gregory diggings alone, and averages nearly that amount daily. Many trains are starting for the river to bring out winter supplies of goods.

An interesting political episode occurred in Nevada gulch, on Saturday evening. In direct opposition to the popular feeling (which is almost unanimous against making any political issue here at present), two prominent Democrats were announced to address the people upon national politics. The attendance was very large, and the orators made violent Douglas speeches. They then introduced a resolution endorsing the Little Giant, and declaring him the choice of the miners for the Presidency. To their infinite surprise, it was voted down, more than two to one. Their mortification was rendered complete by a call for three cheers for Abe Lincoln, which were given with an earnestness and vehemence that made the valleys vocal with their far resounding echoes.

A. D. R.

Denver City, Pike's Peak, July 24, 1860.

MR. EDITOR:—Only about 20 of the 150 quartz mills here are, as yet, in operation. About half of them are doing well. The Black

34. Philip P. Wilcox, a Missourian, settled in Kansas territory in 1855. He made his home in Colorado after June, 1860.—See autobiographical note in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. III, pp. 466, 467; *The Trail*, June, 1911 (v. IV, No. 1), p. 25.

35. E. P. Lewis served in the first state legislature of Kansas.—*The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 250.

Hawk mill, last week, during its second run of thirty hours, yielded \$1,184. Messrs. Dalton & Ropes, of your city, have their mills nearly set up. Mr. Barker and party, from Lawrence, arrived on Saturday.

Messrs. Clark, Gruber & Co. coined \$1,000 of Pike's Peak gold in \$10 pieces, on Saturday. The coin closely resembles the Government eagle, with the exception that a view of Pike's Peak, "natural as life," and several times as sharp, takes the place of the figure of Liberty. The coin is eagerly sought for, and bids fair to come into general circulation.

It is currently reported that a new express line between this city and the Missouri river is to be put in immediate operation by the Western Stage Company. That company is now running its stages from St. Joseph via Savannah and Omaha to Fort Kearney, making the same time from St. Joseph to the fort as that made by the Pike's Peak Express Company. The prospect that the line is to be extended to the Gold Region gives universal satisfaction, as it will undoubtedly cause a reduction in the present high charges for letters, express matter and passengers.

Since my last, we have had a carnival of horrors, no less than five shooting affrays and one fatal accident from the careless use of firearms, having occurred. The first was near the California gulch. A man named Smith, from Schuyler county, Illinois, residing in the gulch, so abused and neglected his wife and three children, that they were compelled to leave him, and started for this city, under the protection of two men coming up for goods. Smith followed the party, and came to their camp, fifteen miles this side of the gulch. He found the men absent in search for their horses, and his wife and her three helpless children—one of them on her breast at the time—alone in the wagon. The inhuman wretch discharged the contents of a shot-gun at them, wounding the poor woman severely in the hip. He subsequently endeavored to shoot one of the men, but the intended victim—an old Texian ranger—was too quick for him, and lodged a rifle ball in his forehead before he had time to take aim. He died almost instantly.

A week ago Saturday, in Colorado City, Pat Develyn—notorious as a "jay-hawker" during the late Kansas troubles,³⁶ was shot by Jim Laughlin, six slugs entering his body. He has exhibited a wonderful tenacity of life, for at the latest accounts he still survived,

^{36.} Patrick Devlin was one of James Montgomery's "Jayhawkers." He figured prominently in the border troubles in Bourbon county.

though his wounds will unquestionably prove fatal. The quarrel originated about a disputed claim. The case was investigated by a jury of the citizens, who unanimously acquitted Laughlin, Develyn being clearly the aggressor. Both the parties were from Osawatomie.

On Tuesday evening, in this city, the barkeeper of a saloon and house of ill-repute, was attacked by James A. Gordon—the owner of another saloon in West Denver. Three balls entered his leg, and the limb was broken in two places. He still lives, and is expected to recover.

On Sunday night, Melvin Hadley, an auctioneer, from Galesburg, Illinois, was sitting in Cannon's saloon, in this city, carousing with William Bates, the bar-tender, from Chicago, when he jestingly remarked:

"Let me light my cigar on your face."

Bates, in the same spirit, picked up a horse pistol, and pointing it towards him, asked in reply, "How do you like the looks of that?"

The pistol, unknown to Bates, was both loaded and cocked, and the words were hardly out of his mouth before it was accidentally discharged, lodging fourteen buckshot in the heart and lungs of Hadley. The unfortunate man expired within half an hour.

By far the most exciting homicide, however, occurred previous to the one just related, though I have detailed them in this order to avoid confusion. On Friday night, in the Louisiana saloon, in Denver, James Gordon (the same person who shot the bar-tender on the previous Tuesday,) wantonly attacked John Gantz, a peaceable and unoffending man, recently from Leavenworth, and formerly from Lockport, N. Y., and, after throwing him upon the floor and kicking him, shot him, the ball entering the top of his head, and passing through the brain, killing him instantly.

This most atrocious and cold-blooded murder caused the most intense excitement. Early in the following morning a public meeting was held, funds were raised, and officers selected to scour all the roads leading from the city, and capture the criminal.

On Saturday afternoon, three of these officers, led by A. J. Snider, from Platte county, Mo., discovered and gave chase to three suspicious looking persons, on mule back, near the Platte, twelve miles below this city. One of them escaped, another was drowned while crossing the river, but the third was taken. He proved not to be Gordon, but confessed that the three mules they were riding had been stolen by his comrades, with his knowledge and assent, and

that they were on their way to the states with them. He alleged, however, that it was his first offense. He gave his name as Samuel K. Dunn, from Champaign county, Ill. He was immediately brought back to the city, and placed under guard. He gave the names of his comrades as Jesse Ogden and Frank Mulligan, both from Wisconsin. The latter was the one that was drowned.

Late on Saturday night, another party of officers found Gordon, with a party of his friends, at a ranche³⁷ about twenty-five miles below this city. Being unable to arrest him, on account of the strong position of his party and his well known desperation, they surrounded the ranche, and sent back to Denver for more assistance. Soon after daylight on Sunday morning, however, before the re-enforcements arrived, Gordon rode out of the ranche on a race-horse, and dashed away, almost through the midst of the party. Several shots were fired after him, one taking effect in the horse, and one, it was believed, in his person; but he succeeded in making good his escape for the time being.

During Sunday, fifty or sixty of the citizens of Denver were out in pursuit. In the evening, still another party of three came in with the coat and horse of Gordon, stating that they had overtaken him on Box Elder creek, thirty miles from the city, and wounded him, but that their horses gave out, and, though on foot, he escaped from them into the timber. The prevailing impression, however, was that they had not dared to risk a close engagement with him.

About twenty men are still engaged in the search, and many of them are determined either to capture the criminal or kill him.

A. D. R.

Gregory Diggings, Rocky Mountains, July 31, 1860.

MR. EDITOR: After an absence of more than a year, I am again in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, observing the almost incredible amount of privation and hard labor which men will submit to in searching for gold, and the astonishing rapidity with which a young empire is springing up, six hundred miles west of the recent confines of civilization. But, like David Copperfield, let me begin my story with the beginning of my story.

37. This was Fort Lupton. "The Fort is an old adobe trading post [on the bank of the Platte river], built very securely for protection against the Indians, but now used as a ranche."—A. D. Richardson, "From the Pike's Peak Gold Region," in the New York Tribune, August 7, 1860. Another account of events in Denver, dated July 23, 1860, added this information: "A. J. Williams, President of the Denver City Town Company, and Dr. Kennedy, of this city, were found at Fort Lupton, and are under arrest for assisting Gordon to escape. They were old friends of Gordon, and say they were sent to meet him there, and take charge of his papers, as he was expected to be shot or hung."—Published in *ibid.*, August 1, 1860.

A few days since, in company with your whilom townsman, Lewis N. Tappan, Esq.,³⁸ I left Denver, bound for the mountains. A ride of fifteen miles, over sandy, rolling prairies, and in view of the grandest scenery, brought us to the base of the range. The mountains are now entered through the mouth of a narrow *canon*, whose frowning walls crowned with rocks and studded with pines, often rise almost perpendicularly to the height of five or six hundred feet. The frightful and precipitous hill, up which, in company with Messrs. Greeley and Villard,³⁹ I climbed wearily a year ago, is now quite abandoned for this more practicable and easy route.

The narrow road through the winding valley is often crossed by a bubbling little stream, ice-cold, and fresh from the mountain snows. Our progress was seriously impeded by long trains of provision and immigrant wagons; huge quartz mills, borne upon wheels, hopelessly imbedded in the fathomless mire, and great loads of hay, which the makers cut and haul eighty miles, over wretched roads, to sell at \$80 per ton. Among the novelties upon this thoroughfare may be noted an immigrant with a single *ox* harnessed into a light cart, and drawing about five hundred pounds of provisions and mining tools. This singular "outfit" has plodded its weary way from Minnesota!

At another point, a philosophic settler was *riding* upon one of a yoke of oxen which he was taking into the mines. The bovine quadruped was regularly saddled and bridled, and took to his new calling very kindly.

Before reaching this point we passed the "Four-Mile House," a popular caravansera kept by Mrs. Hull, from Franklin, Douglas county, Kansas, who is reported to have realised many thousands of dollars from her vocation as a landlady, during the past year. She certainly possesses some of the traits of Crabbe's miraculous heroine.

"Who lost her husband while their loves were young,
But kept her farm, her temper and her tongue."

The old Gregory diggings (discovered May 6, 1859) continue the nucleus of the northern mines. Nearly all the gulches in this vicin-

38. Lewis N. Tappan arrived in Denver in October, 1859. He established general stores in Denver, Golden and Central City. Tappan was a special correspondent for the New York Tribune.—*The Trail*, December, 1911 (v. IV, No. 7), pp. 19-22.

39. Horace Greeley and Henry Villard both had books published in 1860 as a result of their Western experiences of 1859. Greeley, publisher of the New York Tribune, wrote letters to his paper which were afterwards incorporated into book form: Greeley, Horace, *An Overland Journey* (New York, C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860). Villard, correspondent for the Cincinnati (Ohio) *Daily Commercial* and the Leavenworth *Times*, compiled a popular guidebook: Villard, Henry, *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions* (St. Louis, Mo., Sutherland & McEvoy, 1860).

ity are laid out into cities, duly surveyed and platted; and within ten miles of the spot from which I write, there must be a population of twenty-five thousand souls. My first emotions on arriving were those of mingled bewilderment and wonder at the grand development of the past fourteen months, and the astonishing amount of labor which has been performed in erecting spacious and costly buildings, constructing roads, sinking shafts, bringing out and setting up machinery, and excavating the gulches and disemboweling the hills, for scores of miles. Every dollar yet taken out here has cost at least two dollars, and the same amount of work done on the rich prairies of your beautiful territory, would have made them the very garden of the world.

Daily newspapers, and stages from the valley towns, theaters, gambling houses, schools and churches, silver forks at the dining tables of huge hotels, law offices, courts, elections, and the hoarse breath and shrill whistle of scores of steam engines echoing through the gulches, are now some of the salient features of life, where, less than two years ago, reigned almost primeval silence, and the wild elk and grizzly bear held undisputed sway.

"How are the miners doing?" is the question you would ask. In the gulch diggings, among those who are paying expenses (as yet perhaps one-fifth of the whole number), all wages are realised, from \$5 to \$100 per day. But in these northern mines, the gulch diggings can never be the leading feature. Of the 130 quartz mills and the 25 more on the way, only about 30 are yet in operation. They are mostly in the hands of totally inexperienced men, who have everything to learn; nearly all the quicksilver is adulterated; and though a few of the mills are paying largely (turning out each from \$300 to \$800 per day), the majority have not overcome their preliminary difficulties. The great trouble, as yet, is in crushing the quartz to sufficient fineness, and also in separating the gold—two obstacles to success which will soon disappear before study and experience. A large amount of gold will be turned out this year; but to the most of the mill-owners, it will be rather a year of experiments, than of entire success.

But I must reserve further reports of matters in the diggings, for a future letter.

A. D. R.

Denver City, Aug. 2, 1860.

On returning home, I find Denver in a state of intense excitement. The gamblers and desperadoes have attempted to overawe the com-

munity, and the people have risen, almost as one man, to put a stop to the reign of terror. One of the gamblers has been killed; two more are undergoing trial before the vigilance committee, with the probability of their summary conviction and punishment; the city is guarded at night by over two hundred patrolmen, standing upon every corner and challenging all suspicious parties to give the countersign; and the most intense feeling prevails. I enclose full details of the "bloody business," from *The Western Mountaineer*⁴⁰ of this morning.

Chas. H. Eads, an insane man from Lexington, Mo., was fatally shot on Sunday, by John Merk, from Leavenworth, whom he had assaulted, and who was not aware of his lunacy.

A Mexican horse thief was hung in Colorado City, on Sunday morning.

A. D. R.

[Inserted here is A. D. Richardson's letter of August 2, published under the heading "From the Pike's Peak Gold Region," in the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 14, 1860. It supplements the brief note Richardson wrote on the same date for the *Lawrence Republican*.]

Denver City, Pike's Peak, Aug. 2, 1860.

This week, at least, I had hoped to spare you the perusal of our ordinary catalogue of crimes; for though holding, as a journalist, a sort of mercantile interest in these horrors, the "bloody business" has become extremely revolting. But the reign of terror is not yet ended.

In an affray in this city a few weeks since, a Negro known as Prof. Starke was fatally shot by Charley Harrison, a gambler. The *Rocky Mountain News*, in its issue of last week, denounced the homicide as a wanton murder. Harrison felt aggrieved at this language, and issued a handbill, signed by one of our prominent citizens, setting forth that the act was done in self defense. W. M. Byers, Esq., the editor of *The News*, appended to this bill an explanatory card, containing a quasi withdrawal of the imputation, and expressing the hope that an investigation about to take place would prove Harrison blameless.

40. *The Western Mountaineer*, Golden, was established in 1859 by George West. Richardson and Thomas W. Knox were associate editors and correspondents for this newspaper during the summer of 1860.—Hall, Frank, *History of the State of Colorado* . . . (Chicago, The Blakely Printing Company, 1889), v. I, p. 225; Working, D. W., "Some Forgotten Pioneer Newspapers," in *The Colorado Magazine*, May, 1927 (v. IV), p. 95.

This was satisfactory to Garrison, but not to his brother gamblers, who were greatly incensed at the refusal of the editor to make a direct retraction without satisfactory proof that his charge was false. On Tuesday last, Mr. Byers was sitting in his office, engaged in conversation with Gen. Larimer, Edward Creighton, Esq., from St. Louis, and the Rev. Mr. Rankin from Wisconsin. None of the party was armed, and as the two gentlemen last named had but just arrived in this region, the succeeding events must have given them a novel idea of the state of society at Pike's Peak.

Four gamblers, named George Steele, Carl Wood, James Ennis, and John Rucker, suddenly entered the room, with their cocked revolvers in their hands. Wood seized Byers by the collar, and while the four weapons were all aimed at the head of the astonished editor, applied the most abusive epithets to him, and insisted that he should at once accompany them to the Criterion saloon, two squares distant, to meet Garrison. Resistance was out of the question, for the only weapon in the office was a single shot-gun in another apartment. Mr. Byers was therefore compelled to go with them. Wood retaining his grasp upon his collar during the walk, and repeatedly exclaiming with the most profane and insulting epithets, "If any of your friends make the least movement for your rescue, I will shoot you upon the spot."

On reaching the saloon, they insisted upon a retraction of the offensive article; but Byers maintained his former position. It appeared that Garrison had done all in his power to restrain the desperadoes; and, taking Byers aside under the pretense of conversing with him, he succeeded in enabling him to escape from the room and accompanied him back to the office.

When the gamblers learned that their prey had fled, they remounted their horses and returned to *The News* building. Wood, with his two confederates, remained near the edifice, pointing a double-barreled shot gun at the front door, and expressing a determination to shoot Byers when he should attempt to escape; while Steele rode around toward the rear of the building and discharged two shots into it. Fortunately they did not reach any of the occupants; and one of the compositors returning the fire, succeeded in lodging a ball in his shoulder.

By this time intelligence of the affair had spread through the city, and half a dozen armed citizens on horseback reached the scene of the attack. The gamblers fled in tumultuous haste, and

were followed in hot pursuit. Steele crossed Cherry creek into West Denver or Auraria, endeavored to pass over [a] bridge across the Platte, but was "headed off," and returned into East Denver. While riding at a rapid gallop along Blake street, near the corner of G, he was met by Thomas Pollock, Esq., the marshal of the vigilance committee, also riding at a break-neck pace. Mr. Pollock instantly presented a shotgun, and Steele drew a revolver; but before he was able to use it Mr. Pollock fired. Notwithstanding the unchecked speed of both horses the aim was deadly, the entire charge of shot entered the head of the gambler, near the right eye, and he fell heavily and helplessly to the ground. He was taken to the hospital and died in two hours. Steele was one of the desperadoes driven out of Leavenworth by the citizens two years ago, not on any charge connected with the political troubles, but for his general character as a cut-throat.

Ennis made his escape. Rucker was arrested and placed under guard. Wood was pursued and surrounded on F street. At first he presented a shot-gun at the crowd, but the sight of scores of revolvers and rifles, instantly pointed at his head, cowed him, and he gave himself up. While he was being taken to the hall, over Graham's drugstore for safe-keeping, repeated cries of "Hang him!" "Hang him at once!" came up from the crowd. He pleaded pitifully, however, for a trial, and was saved from summary punishment by the officers of the committee.

In the evening a mass meeting of nearly two thousand people assembled in front of the new post-office. Mr. Byers related the occurrences of the day; and addresses, recommending watchfulness, and prompt though deliberate action, were made by Judges Purkins and Waggoner, Dr. Casto, and an old mountain man, who has exchanged his Scotch cognomen of McGaa for the extremely indefinite appellation of Capt. John Smith. Jack Henderson, of Kansas election frauds notoriety, in a state of inebriation, also commenced to harangue the crowd, but was soon cried down. A resolution indorsing the action of Mr. Pollock, was unanimously adopted; and when some one in the assembly called for "three cheers for Tom Pollock!" they were vociferously given.

The trial of Wood commenced last evening, and is not yet concluded. It is conducted by the vigilance committee; but the jurors were selected from the citizens without regard to their connection with that organization. The public feeling is exceedingly intense, and many declare that if Wood escapes through any technicalities,

they will shoot him down wherever he can be found. He is well-known as one of the most desperate characters in this region, and is reputed to have been one of the "destroying angels" of the Mormon church at Salt Lake, and to have committed many murders in that capacity. His trial will be succeeded by that of Rucker, who is notorious here from having killed a gambler named Jock O'Neil a few months since. Ennis is still at large. He belongs to the same class, and wantonly shot John Teef in this city, on the 4th ult.

The predominant feeling among the citizens of Denver is that the reign of gamblers and cut-throats has continued quite too long, and that the desperate state of affairs requires desperate remedies. The city has been guarded for the last two nights by nearly two hundred patrolmen. Especial watchfulness is maintained over the building in which the prisoners are kept, and two of the officers, stationed at every corner in town, challenge all suspicious parties, and if they are unable to give the countersign, conduct them to the headquarters of the committee. . . .

A. D. R.

Denver City, Aug. 7, 1860.

Want of space, in my last letter, compelled me to omit several incidents illustrative of life in the mines. In a gold region, the pursuits of many of the settlers differ materially from those they followed in the East. A gentleman who has for many years been engaged in the practice of the law in New York City, and who still keeps an office in that metropolis, is now running a quartz mill in the Gregory diggings. An ex-banker from one of the river towns in Kansas is also there, engaged in selling pies! He was formerly a deacon in the Presbyterian church, but now retails whisky on Sunday. It would be hard to find on record a more melancholy falling-off, both from dignity and devotion.

Last year at this time many claims were selling, and often at large prices. I recollect one instance, in which a "lead" claim alone was nominally disposed of for forty thousand dollars. But very little cash was paid; there were few instances in which one hundred dollars exchanged hands at the time of making the bargain. The payments were not expected until the gold had been taken from the claim. Now, much more money is paid in these transactions. Two claim sales have come within my knowledge during the past week, in one of which \$6,000, cash, was paid, and in the other \$10,000. Mr. H. W. Hurlburt, of Hornellsville, N. Y., who owned

heavy interests in one of the rich leads, has sold them nearly all, realising from them, in the aggregate, if current reports are true, \$79,000. He, at least, may be said to have "made his pile."

A moderate trade is going on in the mountains. Flour is selling at \$16 to \$17 per hundred; sugar and coffee at 30 to 33 cents per pound. One gentleman from eastern Kansas, who took in the heaviest stock in the mines, has already remitted to the East \$17,000—more than the first cost of his goods in St. Louis—though it is less than two months since they arrived, and he still has some of them on hand. His daily cash sales average nearly \$400, and he and his partner have every prospect of realising \$20,000, during the year ending next spring. One secret of his success is, that he does his own freighting. The freighters are now bringing goods from Leavenworth to this city at seven and eight cents per pound, and still making a very heavy profit. Until the price becomes much lower, every merchant here must freight his own goods, in order to do a successful business.

The "stampedes" all seem to have left. I hardly saw a single idle man in the mines. Those who remain evidently design to stay, and to work out their pecuniary salvation by hard labor.

The excellent quartz mill of Messrs. Dalton & Ropes of your city, has just gone into operation, and bids fair to yield richly. The number of Lawrence people in the diggings is very large, including many families. I sometimes felt inclined to wonder, while meeting so many of your old familiar faces, whether you had anybody left at home! Nearly all of your former citizens, whom I met, seemed well satisfied. So far as I am aware, they all conduct themselves creditably, with a single exception. One well known former denizen of Lawrence was warned out of Denver, last winter, for *stealing turkeys!*

Leavenworth is very largely represented, both in the towns and in the diggings. Nearly all the river towns have sent heavy contributions of people. In Spring gulch I found five old neighbors from Sumner, whose stores are located side by side; and thirty or forty former residents of the town. A street in a city which has just been laid off there, is very properly called Sumner street. All Quindaro seems to be here, with the exception of Dr. Charles Robinson and Mr. S. N. Simpson—of whom, I am gratified to notice, a kind Providence has not yet bereaved you. Wyandot, Grasshopper Falls and Atchison are largely represented; but I meet with comparatively few persons from southern Kansas.

At present, there is a great stampede over the Snowy Range, to the western slope of the mountains, driven thither by reports of rich discoveries. One party has gone three hundred miles in that direction, in pursuit of a locality known as the "Lost Lead." The story goes that a prospecting party there discovered, in an excavation some three feet square, an old, rusty shovel. On attempting to use it, the handle was found to be so decayed that it snapped like glass; but the prospectors took \$2,700 in dust from the hole, and were then compelled to return for more provisions. The story has a Munchausenish air, but is largely accredited.

Pat Devlin is at last dead, from the effect of his wounds, and was buried a few days since, in Colorado City. Business is very dull in the towns.

Several companies of U. S. troops, at Bent's fort⁴¹—a trading post on the Arkansas, 150 miles southeast of this city—a few days since attacked a large number of Kiowa Indians, on account of their refusal to give up several members of their tribe who wantonly murdered thirteen persons on the Santa Fe route, last fall. Five of the Indians were killed, and thirteen captured. The troops departed for Pawnee Fork, leaving their prisoners in the post. Mr. Bent, however, was soon compelled to give them up to the Kiowas, who in very large numbers surrounded his fort, in hostile array. He sent an old Frenchman, who has been in his employ for many years, down the Arkansas to communicate to the troops the news of the escape of the prisoners. The messenger had proceeded forty miles on the way, when he was attacked by the Indians, who shot him, mangled his body with their knives, took off his scalp, "including," in the language of my informant, "the whole top of his head," and left him for dead. After their departure, however, he rallied, and actually made his way back to within four miles of the fort, where he was found and carried in by a party of friendly Arapahoes. He is now recovering.⁴²

These troubles have caused many persons, who had started down the Arkansas for the states, to return and take the Platte route.

41. In 1859 Col. George Bent leased his stone fort (built early in the 1850's) to the War Department. It was located nearly opposite the present town of Prowers, Colo. The post was named Fort Wise in 1860 and renamed Fort Lyon in 1862.—Grinnell, George Bird, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, p. 87; Hamersly, Thomas H. S., *Complete Army and Navy Register of the United States of America, From 1776 to 1887* (New York, T. H. S. Hamersly, publisher, 1888).

42. "There is a young man, named Mark Ralf, at Bent's Fort who was recently stabbed in three places and shot three times, scalped, and left for dead by the Kiowa Indians, but who afterwards regained his consciousness, and walked thirty-five miles to a place of safety and succor. He has now nearly recovered, but has only two locks of hair left upon his head, as all the rest was taken with the scalp."—St. Joseph (Mo.) *Free Democrat*, November 10, 1860, p. 8, col. 2. Richardson was probably misinformed in referring to the messenger as "old".

Wood, the gambler who attacked the *Rocky Mountain News* office, was tried, and the jury stood eleven for his conviction to one for his acquittal. He and his comrade, Rucker, were finally warned to leave the country, and did so several days since. Great indignation is felt that they were allowed to escape so easily. A. D. R.

Denver City, August 25, 1860.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN: Quite a number of quartz mills have changed hands recently, in very few cases commanding more than "cost and freight." That of Dr. Fiew, in the Gregory district, was sold a few days since for about one half its cost. It had not been successful in saving the gold. A few mills are doing a good business, but not half of those in the mountains are yet in running order. It is a tedious, expensive, and often perplexing enterprise to set up a quartz mill, after its arrival.

Notwithstanding a feeling of depression, which prevails in certain localities, the gold from the mines begins to come out in considerable quantities. Messrs. Clark, Gruber & Co. receive about \$2,000 per day at their banking house. Hinckley & Co.'s express brought down \$10,000 from the Gregory diggings, night before last. The express which left for Leavenworth and St. Joseph on Thursday morning, carried out \$20,000 by the messenger, and nearly as much more in the hands of passengers. At least sixty thousand dollars per week is now sent East by the express. Two or three weeks since, Mr. John Warner started for the river with \$50,000; and since that time, Messrs. Earl & Thomas, from California gulch, have left for the states, taking with them, respectively, \$50,000 and \$20,000.

The census returns are nearly all in, and show the population of the Gold Region to be about sixty thousand. Forty-eight thousand of it lies within the limits of Kansas,⁴³ about three thousand in Nebraska, and nine thousand in Utah. The population, however, is decreasing daily, as the annual autumnal rush to the states has commenced, and though many of those returning pilgrims design coming out again in the spring, with their families and goods, or machinery, there are many others who are thoroughly disgusted with Pike's Peak and gold seeking.

The Smoky Hill exploring expedition has at last arrived. All the members came through safely, except a Mr. Hodgson, from Auburn,

43. Volumes of the U. S. census of Kansas territory, 1860, are in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society. The Arapahoe county volume (covering a large part of the gold region) contains approximately 35,000 names.

Shawnee county, who was killed by the Kiowa Indians. They report the route excellent, with abundance of grass, wood and water. The longest distance without water is twenty-two miles—about the same as the longest dry interval on the northern route. They think the road can be constructed from Leavenworth to Denver in 590 miles, and to Colorado City a few miles shorter. The party came through to Colorado, and have not yet explored the Denver branch of the road. It was a great mistake that the expedition was not placed under the direction of one chief engineer, instead of two. Our Leavenworth friends ought to know that where there are two commanders, there is always trouble in the camp. However, the results of the expedition are, on the whole, eminently satisfactory, as the road proves to be better, and sixty miles shorter, than the Platte route.⁴⁴

A few days since, a single pan of dirt, taken from McNulty's gulch in the Arkansas diggings, yielded \$67.35. In the Gregory diggings, a claim was recently sold for \$12,000. The names applied to many of the leads and gulches are more novel than poetic. One of the richest in the northern diggings is known as the "Bob-Tail" lead, and another has been christened the "Shirt-Tail" lead. "Humbug" gulch, on the Arkansas, is very popular just at present, and the miners are said to be doing well there. It received its name from the fact that before paying diggings were discovered in it, it was purchased and abandoned successively by three different parties, all of whom declared that it was a humbug.

Winter bids fair to commence early. Snow fell to the depth of two inches on the 16th inst., upon the divide between the waters of the Blue and those of the Platte, and a few days after, to the depth of four inches near the Gregory district. In the valley, however, the weather is genial and pleasant.

The excitement in regard to the recently discovered silver leads still continues. The best ore assays about \$700 to the ton. In the

44. A special correspondent of the New York *Tribune* in a letter dated Lawrence, K. T., September 1, 1860, wrote: "One very important item of Kansas affairs is the opening of the Smoky Hill road to the gold mines. . . . By the enterprise of Leavenworth, and other communities in Eastern Kansas, an expedition was hired under Green Russell, the Georgia miner, to explore the valley, and discover whether it was practicable. This he did, and succeeded, but his report was very meager. . . . Another expedition of forty men and ten wagons was then outfitted by public subscription of our people, to open work and construct a road. Mr. [H. T.] Green of Leavenworth, a gentleman of considerable intelligence and character, was placed at the head of the expedition, with Mr. [O. M.] Tennyson . . . as engineer. They started on their expedition in June, and as this year has been drier than any for twenty years, according to the experience of the old settlers and traders of the missions, considerable anxiety was entertained for the fate of the enterprise. Happily it proved quite successful. . . .—"New York Daily Tribune, September 8, 1860, p. 7. The Leavenworth *Daily Times*, June 16, 1860, published a good account of the second Smoky Hill expedition.

richest silver mines of Arizona, \$200 to the ton is called a very rich yield.

Among half a dozen other candidates, A. O. McGrew, Esq.—the printer who brought his entire “outfit” from Kansas City to Denver in a wheelbarrow, two years ago,—is in the field for delegate to Congress, and will poll a considerable vote.⁴⁵ Gen. Wm. Larimer, formerly of Leavenworth, is perhaps the most prominent candidate.

A good deal of building is going on in Denver, mostly of a permanent and substantial character. Many spacious and elegant brick blocks are approaching completion, and no other city of the same age and size ever exhibited so fine an architecture.

The second U. S. mail arrived last Monday night, bringing upwards of eleven thousand letters. As it comes but once a week, we are not as well supplied as when the express brought our letters, even though we were compelled to pay 25 cents apiece for them.

Frank Roberts, Esq., of your city, arrived with his party a few days since. Mr. Willis,⁴⁶ of Lawrence, who has been spending some time in the California gulch, starts on his return in a day or two, greatly pleased with the country, and designs to settle here permanently next spring. He takes with him some remarkably fine specimens of silver ore. Judge A. J. Allison,⁴⁷ from Doniphan, an ex-member of your territorial legislature, started for the river two or three weeks since. Intelligence has just been received here that he is lying dangerously ill at one of the express stations on the route.

Provisions are reasonably cheap at present, but flour will command \$25 per hundred in Denver City, before next May. The wheat crop of New Mexico, which supplied this region largely last year, is a comparative failure. Vegetables of all kinds are plenty in the market, and melons have made their appearance at \$1.25 apiece.

A. D. R.

45. McGrew pushed a wheelbarrow half way across the plains, then joined a wagon train. —See editorial note appended to A. O. McGrew's letter of December 29, 1858, published in Hafen, LeRoy R., editor, *Colorado Gold Rush, Contemporary Letters and Reports, 1858-1859* (Glendale, Cal., The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1941), p. 189. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce* in October, 1858, carried a story of the departure of McGrew from Kansas City with his possessions in a wheelbarrow.

46. Probably S. J. Willes.

47. Augustus J. Allison, probate judge of Doniphan county in 1858; member of the house in the Kansas territorial legislature of 1859.

The Soft Winter Wheat Boom and the Agricultural Development of the Upper Kansas River Valley

Second Installment

JAMES C. MALIN

T. C. HENRY, REAL ESTATE DEALER AND "WHEAT KING"

THE development of the upper Kansas valley brought a number of farm leaders into the foreground, but the one who was most conspicuous of all, in advertising value certainly if not in influence upon agriculture, was T. C. Henry, real estate dealer of Abilene.¹ The herd law had become effective in Saline and Dickinson counties April 8 and 12, 1872, respectively, the way was open for cheap farming without the expense of building fences around growing crops. In the fall of 1873, Henry embarked upon winter wheat growing as a part of his real-estate promotion activities.² According to his own story, he broke 500 acres of sod along the Kansas Pacific railway east of Abilene, using six-yoke ox teams pulling 20-inch Moline plows:

In August the seed, the Early Red May, or Little Red May, a soft, amber-colored, small, symmetrical berry, was broadcasted on the sod and covered by common Scotch harrows, drawn by ox-teams. . . . My processes were purposely primitive and inexpensive, merely adequate for an example. . . .

He claimed that his field was like an oasis during the crop year 1873-1874 and that the yield was nearly twenty bushels per acre.³ He harvested the crop with two Marsh harvesters and a Weyhrich header. It was one of those dry years when the wheat ripened suddenly and the purchase of the header, he said, was urged upon him by the local implement dealer.⁴ The whole cropping operation was done on a contract basis, because Henry did all his farming from his real estate office in Abilene.

For the crop year, 1874-1875, Henry broke 600 or more acres of

1. Cf. Malin, James C., "Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production . . .," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. X (August, 1941), pp. 227-259, at pp. 255-259.

2. T. C. Henry, "The Story of a Fenceless Winter-Wheat Field," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 502-506. Although Henry was inaccurate in some of his dates, the local newspapers corroborate this date 1873 as his beginning.—See *Abilene Chronicle*, May 26, 1876.

3. Reported as 24 bushels per acre in *ibid.*, and 19 bushels in the *Ottawa Republican*, February 17, 1876.

4. Henry, *loc. cit.*, v. IX, p. 504. The fact of using these machines was reported in the *Junction City Union*, June 20, 1874, but without the name of the header or the explanation why he used the header, these latter points appearing only in the reminiscences.

sod in the Smoky Hill bottoms and was reported to have sown some 1,200 acres of fall wheat.⁵ The local paper described the tract of land as beginning at the stockyards east of Abilene and extending four miles eastward toward Detroit and lying on the north side of the Kansas Pacific railroad and between it and the valley wagon road. The wheat field itself began one mile east of town and was three miles in length. An Osage orange fence had been planted around the land, with cross fences each half mile, in all twelve miles of hedge. When the threshing was done and the wheat marketed Henry announced the yield at 28,800 bushels, or 22½ bushels per acre, which he sold at \$1.05½, making a profit on the year's operations at \$18,974, besides leaving on hand straw worth \$1,500 for stock feed. At this time he explained somewhat his methods, taking the view that by burning off the stubble three crops could be raised on one plowing of the land; "two years ago [fall of 1873] I put in 500 acres pursuing the foregoing method." By this he meant that in 1873 the sod was broken and the first crop planted; and in 1874 the second crop was planted without plowing; and in 1875 likewise.⁶

For the crop year 1875-1876, Henry expanded his operations. Early in June, 1875, he was advertising for teams to break 2,000 acres of sod by August 1, at \$3.00 per acre. The record is not clear how many acres were planted, but by August 21 he was reported to have started sowing his 1,300-acre field.⁷ A news story in the spring of 1876 related that the crop of 1874 had yielded 24 bushels; 1875, 34 bushels; and in 1876 the prospect was 5-7 bushels better than 1875; and finally, that the wheat on the old ground, the third successive crop, was best of all without plowing. This three-year record, the article concluded, "proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that wheat can be raised on new land, old land, or any other land in this county."⁸ Threshing reports tempered the optimism of May prospects giving the yield at about 20 bushels per acre, which was three bushels above the harvest-time estimate and fifteen less than four weeks before harvest.⁹

5. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1874.

6. *Ibid.*, May 9, September 19, 1874; Abilene *Chronicle* articles reprinted in the *Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, June 10, 1875, and Ottawa *Republican*, February 17, 1876. (The issues of the *Chronicle* containing these articles have not been preserved.) These four accounts differ as to the wheat acreage giving respectively 1,100, 1,200, 1,300, 1,200. In the last of these he claimed that the yield on his first crop of 1874 was 19 bushels and that it sold for 90 cents. Cf. Footnote 3.

7. Junction City *Union*, June 5, August 21, 1875.

8. Abilene *Chronicle*, May 26, 1876.

9. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1876.

Henry's operations for the crop year 1876-1877 were expanded further, one report stating that jointly with Dr. J. W. Morris of Salina he had purchased 10,600 acres in Dickinson county, 2,000 acres of which would be seeded in the fall.¹⁰ Another report explained that he had entered into partnership with Philadelphia capitalists for 10,000 acres in each of three counties, Dickinson, Ellsworth, and Russell.¹¹ A visitor to Henry's wheat land east of Abilene described spring operations for expansion there; twenty plows in operation, mostly drawn by four-mule teams, but some by oxen, breaking 1,500 acres of new land making a wheat tract of 2,800 acres in one body, and besides this, Henry had several separate fields.¹² On account of grasshoppers Henry advocated delay of planting until after a freeze which would kill the pests, otherwise growing wheat would be eaten off as rapidly as it came up. This would mean that planting would be so late probably that the crop would not make a fall growth, in which case he favored very late planting that would not sprout until spring. He did not expect hopper damage in the spring. In the meantime farmers should plow as much land as possible and later plant the seed as deeply as possible. In February, 1877, he began reviewing the situation, the results confirming his early advice, as the drilled fields planted late were little injured and were only then coming through the ground, if up at all,—

it is certain now that the chances for a crop from late sown wheat are very greatly increased by the use of the drill. . . . The fact that wheat was sown late and has a small growth by spring, does not militate against the probability of a full crop. A large growth in the fall is only desirable to prevent winter-killing. Too large a growth in the fall I believe is likely to cause a proportionately weaker plant at maturity.¹³

The first spring menace was the northward migration of ducks and geese that overran the wheat fields the beginning of April, but they only stopped to feed in transit. The grasshoppers hatched out in force and threatened to destroy everything green. All kinds of devices were resorted to for killing them, Henry using two different kinds of machines. He was always an optimist and under this threat bought fields from discouraged farmers which later were reported as making a fair crop. There was no point, however, in minimizing the extent of damage and even under the disguise of a real estate promoter's tactics, it was evident that Henry lost much wheat,

10. *Salina Herald*, May 13, 1876.

11. *Abilene Chronicle*, July 21, 1876; *Salina Herald*, August 12, 1876.

12. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 26, 1876.

13. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1876; February 2, 1877.

the press commenting on the large acreage of corn Henry was planting—a wheat king, boss real estate agent and “we can’t tell what else.”¹⁴ A wet May and rust damage to wheat and summer-drought damage to corn visited Henry’s fields as well as others during the summer of 1877, but did not modify his course. A new stage of expansion was forecast in an announcement that he had contracted for another thousand acres of sod to be broken with a steam plow.¹⁵

By the spring of 1875 Henry was ready to launch publicly in a big way his real estate promotion campaign based primarily on what he called his system of winter wheat growing. His promotion pamphlet was published under the title *Henry’s Advertiser*.¹⁶

The system of agriculture and the variety of crops best adapted to our climate and soil, while of course not thoroughly determined, are pretty nearly ascertained. Winter Wheat will doubtless be the great staple of our county. . . . one consideration essential to a successful crop, viz., *a vigorous growth in the fall*, which is nearly always insured by *early sowing*. Though we have but little rain or snow in the winter, the cold is not sufficiently intense to kill it by frost or heaving. Proper treatment during the month of March, with its dry winds, will remove the only peril. . . .¹⁷

His system was designed particularly for exploiting raw land; sod breaking from May 10 to July 10 at a cost of \$3.00 per acre; harrowing lengthwise; broadcasting after August 20 five pecks of seed per acre at a cost of \$1.00 and a cross-wise and a third harrowing, the three harrowings at \$1.00 per acre. If the crop was a failure, he recommended replanting in the spring to spring wheat, oats, barley or corn without harrowing or plowing. The harvest costs, by header or reaper, he said, could be met by \$2.00 per acre; threshing at nine cents per bushel or \$1.80 per acre for a 20-bushel crop; and hauling not over three miles to market at two cents per bushel or 40 cents per acre. The total cost of the crop, according to this calculation, was \$9.20 per acre. The seven-year average for the winter-wheat crop had been above 20 bushels, so said his pamphlet, which sold at a seven-year average price of 85 cents per bushel, or \$17.00 per acre. The net profit on the year’s operation was figured, therefore, at \$7.80 per acre which was more than the

14. *The Kansas Gazette*, Enterprise, April 6, 20, May 4, 18, 1877; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 11, 1877.

15. *Salina Herald*, June 23, 1877. Like so many newspaper stories there is no means of verification to determine whether any sod was actually broken by steam power.

16. *Henry’s Advertiser*, Dickinson county, Kansas. T. C. Henry, Publisher, Abilene, Kan., Spring Edition, 1875. Vol. I, No. 1. It is reasonably certain that this is the first such publication issued by Henry. The next year when the edition of 1876 was issued the *Abilene Chronicle*, April 28, 1876, referred to it as the second number.

17. *Henry’s Advertiser*, p. 3.

cash price for the land in Dickinson county. The second crop could be prepared for \$3.75 per acre instead of \$5.00 per acre.¹⁸

With respect to corn he declared that:

Our observation and experience do not justify the assertion that we can grow corn as successfully as on the prairies east of the Mississippi. [The difficulty solely is] . . . that some years there sets in from the south a hot wind during July which, unless interrupted by seasonable rains, continues to blow until the top of the growing corn is blasted. And yet we state it as our deliberate conviction that there is no point in the whole Mississippi Valley where the culture and growth of corn is so profitable and remunerative as here in Dickinson county.

Probably, on an average, we have had a failure more or less complete in Dickinson county once in every three years.¹⁹

As an alternative procedure, instead of hiring the farming done, Henry suggested that land could be rented, the owner receiving one-third of the crop. He assured prospective land buyers also that resale of improved land could be made at an advance of \$5.00 per acre.

In 1876 Henry issued the second number of *Henry's Advertiser*. With respect to wheat he added this year that:

Attention has only within the past two years, since the adoption of the herd law, been directed to our special advantages in this particular, and yet it is estimated that fully 800,000 bushels of wheat were harvested the past season in Dickinson county. The acreage now sown is not exceeded by any county in the State, and is fully forty per cent greater, and the prospect twenty-five per cent better than at this time last year.²⁰

These two issues of *Henry's Advertiser* are conclusive on several points; the sales promotion was directed especially at speculative buyers of land to be farmed by "sidewalk" and absentee methods; the tillage methods proposed were not abreast of the best practices of the community, but as executed under his supervision were probably better than much of the farming of the community because of his superior equipment in machinery and supervision of his contractors. As suggested in his reminiscences, only the minimum in both labor and machinery was expended. The only type of leadership in evidence was in rapidity of sales and breaking of sod.

Henry's real estate pamphlet, *Henry's Advertiser*, was reissued in an edition of 1878 and without much change in content from the first two editions. He still advocated broadcasting and harrowing in of wheat, but omitted part of the original optimistic statement concerning corn, but still insisted on "our deliberate conviction"

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

20. *Abilene Chronicle*, April 28, May 5, 1876.

concerning the profitableness of corn production, qualified this time by an admission of a corn failure every five rather than every three years as originally stated.

The ubiquitous subject of Kansas climate was the theme of T. C. Henry's Fourth of July address in 1876 and he took the occasion to challenge tactfully the popular assumption that climate was changing, both the desert theory and increasing rainfall theory:

I have been persuaded for some years that there has been within the knowledge of white men no perceptible increase in the rainfall of this part of the state. To be sure I am aware of what is claimed in this particular—that the planting of trees and the opening of farms does and has affected this operation of nature. While the influence of settlements probably does and probably will tend to increase the rainfall, I most strenuously deny that we have any evidence of such a change as yet. . . . The same streams and the same rainfall, the same grasses and the same animals that exist today on the plains existed then—[before the coming of settlement] . . .

After reviewing year by year the stage of water in the Smoky Hill river, the floods beginning with the great flood of 1844, he concluded:

My point is that the climatic conditions which characterize our county today, have prevailed for a long time past and probably will continue for a long time to come in the future, and that therefore any successful system of farming which our present experience may evolve is likely to prove available and serviceable for some considerable time hereafter.²¹

Whatever criticism may be directed at Henry's promotion tactics it is evident that he did not misrepresent the fundamentals of climate, and he was sound on the insistence that agriculture must be adapted to environment rather than the reverse. Although the year 1877 turned out to be unfavorable for crops, it proved to be Henry's great moment. Whether by accident or a stroke of genius, he arranged with the New York *Herald*, probably with the coöperation of the Kansas Pacific railroad, to have a correspondent visit the valley in the early summer when the wheat was at its best. Every real estate man knew that there was no more inviting place than Kansas in late May or early June and that few Easterners could resist a good land salesman under such favorable circumstances. The *Herald* correspondent came, saw, and wrote, June 15, according to the best standards of real estate promotion. Henry had planned his big field to extend from Detroit west to Abilene, a solid expanse of wheat on both sides of the Kansas Pacific track. This became the central idea of the *Herald* article and inspired the

21. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1876.

name, "The Golden Belt," for the valley: "The Golden Belt covers the broad valley of the Kansas, the mouths of the Republican and Solomon, and the valleys of the Saline and Smoky Hill."

Describing Henry's field as the largest east of the Rockies, the writer continued:

There is not a foot of fence on Mr. Henry's four mile wheat field. The railroad runs through its whole extent. Riding in a silver palace car one of the most impressive sights that meets the eye of the traveller through this State is this mammoth field of solid miles of grain, shining in the sunlight, ripening for the harvest, bending to the breeze and waving to and fro like a sea of molten gold. . . .²²

He may have been somewhat excited when he wrote this paragraph, but he had seen Kansas in early June, and after the harvest had turned out badly even a seasoned old settler was moved to come to his defense pleading this as an extenuating circumstance.

"The Golden Belt" article stirred local people to an interesting discussion of farm planning. "J. H." wrote the *Enterprise Kansas Gazette*, admitting that Henry's crop for 1874 and 1875 paid big profits

but if Mr. Henry will publish his experience in wheat raising for 1876 and 1877, we presume to say no one will be induced to venture in the "*speculation*" of wheat raising. Will Mr. Jacob Augustine, "agent for K. P. R. W. Co., with headquarters at Mansfield, Ohio," relate his experience in wheat raising in this county? "Rev. Dr. Jno. Hall bought a section of land two years ago," so says the *N. Y. Herald*—in this county. Doctor, please give us the *facts*, and your profits from raising wheat for the last two years.

The one idea of wheat raising, together with all the attendant evils of machinery, to the almost total exclusion of stock raising, is fast bringing our county to the verge of bankruptcy. This is no mere assertion; it can be proven by facts. If it is desired we will give you the total valuation of property as returned by the assessors, and the amount of our county's indebtedness as recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds. Our indebtedness now is nearly equal to one-fourth of our valuation. This may appall you but let the facts be faced, and the sooner the better. Truth will harm no one. Farmers, beware where you are drifting! Too much land and machinery will ruin you financially—destroy your credit at home and abroad. Heretofore we have been looking forward to waving fields of golden grain and a rich harvest.

Contemplate now the situation! Our county literally covered over with machinery, and our Recorder's office fast filling up with mortgages.

This is not calculated to please any one, and doubtless will displease many. But is not what we have written true? J. H.²³

22. The *Herald* article was reprinted in the Abilene *Chronicle*, July 6, 1877. The Kansas Pacific railway adopted the name "Golden Belt Route" in its advertisements.—Abilene *Chronicle*, August 10, 1877; Salina *Herald*, August 11, 1877.

23. *Enterprise Kansas Gazette*, July 18, 1877.

The editor thought that the letter deserved serious attention as "J. H." was a prominent man and a practical farmer. Some wheat had been planted twice, some early fields had made 20 to 30 bushels per acre but the county average was less than half a crop. If a farmer was out of debt, he could stand it, but in a specialized wheat country, failure was serious because machinery was purchased on credit. By contrast he pointed out that when crops failed in Ohio a farmer could live on buckwheat cakes, but he was not in debt for machinery:

Mortgages and high rates of interest are playing the deuce with the people of Kansas, as also of some other new states. . . .

If our farmers will diversify their crops—not depend almost entirely upon wheat alone—and raise more cattle, sheep and horses, they will ultimately become prosperous and independent.

The next issue contained two letters in reply and another editorial in the same vein as the first, but the editor made a point of explaining that he did not mean that this was not a good country, only that success required prudence and management; too many wanted to be rich in a year or two; crops might come five of six years, but that sixth year would cramp the farmer who depended entirely upon wheat. "A. F." wrote that the wheat discussion was "true and timely" and would do good "by inducing many farmers to diversify their crops."

Letter writer "B." was a newcomer, without capital, who had come to Kansas under the impression that here he could make \$1,000 to \$1,200 go further than anywhere else. If "J. H.'s" letter was true, then he could not buy land, if it was not safe to go in debt, plus implements, improvements and a year's living expenses, and that sum was not sufficient to buy stock and meet living expenses until the stock was ready for market. If "J. H.'s" letter was true then there must be something wrong either with the country or the farmers. He asked "J. H." to reply whether he should leave and save himself from failure; certainly "B." would write his friends not to come to Kansas.

A somewhat similar exchange was taking place in *The Kansas Farmer*, one man declaring he could take a 160-acre farm in Kansas and make himself independently rich growing wheat; to which the editor replied "that wheat alone, as a specialty would bankrupt him in eight years or sooner." The editor of the *Gazette* reprinted the exchange with comment agreeing with *The Kansas Farmer*. The reply of "J. H." to "B." indulged in satire which was in bad taste,

lacked clarity and did both himself and his subject an injustice as he was making a point of real significance. He maintained that the country had no more drawbacks than any new country; a diversified agriculture was slow but sure; and that a man who could not buy stock and wait for maturity could not buy land, teams, seed and machinery, and wait to raise a crop; the real difficulty was trying to farm without capital—it was not the country nor the farmer—farming on credit and speculation on a single crop to pay obligations meant ruin.²⁴

During the following winter Henry was invited to speak at the Farmers' Institute held by the Kansas State Agricultural College and among other things probably framed his address on "Kansas Wheat Culture" with a view to answering some of the criticism of the summer. Four years earlier the profitable culture of wheat had been almost universally questioned; yet it had become the leading industry of the state; "in proportion to the capital employed, we stand unrivaled in the world"; and if prospects materialized Kansas would excel every other state. It was important, he thought, "that such experiences as we can command shall be secured for immediate service." The soil of the winter-wheat area of Kansas, he maintained, was the best east of the Sierras and probably was not excelled anywhere in the world and there was no reason why "we may not prolong the growth and culture of that cereal indefinitely. The famous wheat plains of Joppa are as productive today, under a crude and primitive system of culture, as they were eighteen centuries ago." He propounded the question, however, why with natural conditions so favorable, was not wheat production more successful. The explanation of this was the object of his paper.

Henry was convinced that the difficulty did not lie in varieties. The Early May was the variety best adapted to Kansas. The Amber had done better because it was a few days earlier than May, but had not been sufficiently tested. The Fultz met all requirements except it was late in maturing and consequently was subject to drought and rust in extremely dry or wet summers: "I do not advise much further experimentation in new varieties. We have a sufficient number already introduced that are adapted to our soil and climate. . . ."

He shared the mistaken idea rather generally held that the seed should be rotated between low to high ground, between clay and sandy soils, in order to prevent deterioration. He challenged the

24. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1877.

tradition of exhaustion of the soil, especially emphasizing the Genessee valley of New York where he argued that the difficulty was the climatic change resulting from cutting the timber and the introduction of insect pests and disease. He was familiar with Liebig's experimentation with soil chemistry. As an aside he revealed that he was already attracted by the Plains and by irrigation, emphasizing that the world's greatest wheat regions were those with arid climates and porous soils. It is significant that he recognized that the Plains soils were porous and of a texture different from those of the East, although it is evident that he did not understand the origin of the soil which accounted for the difference—"I am confident that the plains are naturally the best wheat lands in America, if water in some shape can be given them. . . ."

Henry was of the opinion that Kansas had not yet employed generally the best procedures in wheat culture that might be drawn from existing experience. The program he outlined differed, however, only in a few details from the one presented in 1875. For new land, break sod between mid-May and June 25, harrow twice, drill and harrow. He preferred the drill for sod only because it scattered the seed more evenly than broadcasting but objected to buying a drill if the farmer did not already have one. For the second year, he advised plowing, as early after harvest as possible, but not more than two inches deeper than the sod had been broken, otherwise wild soil would be turned up. He would harrow to kill weeds before drilling, but again he minimized the drill, although adding a second advantage to be gained by its use on older land—that the drill furrow gave some protection to the growing plant against the weather hazards of winter. On old ground he advocated deep plowing every second or third year, and early, to allow time to settle. He would sow wheat directly into the stubble of spring barley ground if it had been spring plowed, and into corn ground among standing stalks, if reasonably free of weeds. He entered a definite objection to deep drilling of wheat, insisting that wheat by its nature was essentially a surface rooted plant.

It was probable that the discussion of the preceding summer called out the special emphasis on drills, and the advice not to buy one if a farmer was short of capital and not to go into debt for agricultural machinery, a practice too common among Kansas farmers:

Talk about bonds, land payments, the currency, low prices, or grasshoppers,—none of them, nor all of them, have dragged our people so deeply into debt as "improved" farm machinery sold on time.

With respect to harvesting suggestions, Henry had nothing in particular to offer. He commented that the header would probably be used a long time in western Kansas, but eventually the self-binder would prove the best, but he pointed out that the Eastern practice of cutting green did not work in Kansas as the grain dried out too quickly and shriveled, except in wet seasons.

Among insect enemies of Kansas agriculture he placed chinch bugs first, and emphasized that the breeding of these pests in late maturing wheat was the principal objection against spring wheat. The best spring wheat was Odessa and he would use it only to replant winter wheat. He was planting a thousand acres that year. In listing causes of failures of crops he admitted that some were providential, but insisted that careless culture was responsible for more losses than grasshoppers. In wheat culture "the chief trouble is in securing a stand of vigorous plants—to get safely through until spring." To establish such a vigorous plant before cold weather required early plowing, pulverization of the surface, a compact seed bed, early seeding by drilling east and west. March was emphasized as the critical period for the wheat crop. He disapproved harrowing or rolling at that time as they smoothed the surface leaving it more exposed than otherwise to high winds, two or three days of which blew the wheat out of the ground root and all. In March, he advised, leave the wheat strictly alone, but plant early next time. Henry concluded that while the best practices evolved from experience coincided closely with the findings of science, such knowledge would save much of the loss in time, money, and effort necessary to arrive at such goals. With the benefit of sixty-five years of hindsight it is evident that Henry made a number of errors of judgment in this address, most conspicuously in respect to varieties and harvesting machines, and he did not realize some of the possibilities of tillage machinery developments, but he made a better average than most who were giving advice to Kansas farmers at that period.²⁵

There was one kick-back on this address and it came from Riley county, the easternmost of the four counties, which because of its topography was committed largely to become a part of the bluestem-

25. The address was delivered at Manhattan January 17, 1878, and was printed in summary and in full in many Kansas papers. One of the newspaper services reprinted it on its patent pages for the weeklies. Of course the Abilene *Chronicle* printed it in full, February 1, 1878, and the *Valley Republican*, Kinsley, Edwards county, had it in its patent outside February 2, 1878. The *Industrialist*, Manhattan, the college paper, printed it in full January 19, 1878.

Henry did not discuss soil fertilization and crop rotation as each subject would require a separate paper, and Kansas soil showed no signs of exhaustion. Good crops were always obtained by rotation with corn, but he suggested the possibilities of a Yankee summer fallow.

pasture region. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, on January 25, asserted that "We are satisfied, however, that a large majority of the farmers in this section have lost money on wheat, taking year in and year out."

Most contemporary comments upon Henry's operations during these years were complimentary. In a measure, of course, this was in keeping with the prevailing boom spirit and local pride, which seemed by common consent to limit public controversy to other fields. As set out in his *Advertiser*, the divergence of Henry's farming practices from the recognized best standards did not elicit general comment and neither did his real estate advertising methods and the stripping methods of farming, and the tales of extraordinary profits presented to entice immigration and absentee investment in Kansas wheat land. Only the discussion of July, 1877, seems to provide an exception. Probably there can be no determination with any exactness of the extent to which absentee farming resulted from his efforts, or whether there was more of this type of speculation in this area than in others which did not come under his influence. The prevailing methods of real estate activities throughout the West were not upon a plane of ethics high enough to make Henry's appear conspicuously reprehensible by contrast. In a friendly, but somewhat facetious article, the Junction City *Union* had commented, probably with accuracy, that "Strangers should call on him. He will take them in as gently as any man we know of."²⁶ That he was ruthless with competitors seems probable. The National Land Company, the subsidiary of the Kansas Pacific Railway Co., published a warning in 1878 that Henry had no authority to represent the company, and that all business should be transacted with R. J. Wemyss, the secretary-treasurer.²⁷ As a local rival in real estate the firm of Wemyss and Beal soon succumbed to Henry as had most of his other Abilene competitors, Henry buying them out.²⁸

Eulogistic contemporary comment appeared frequently in the press during the wheat-boom period, especially in the home town paper. On one occasion of his absence on a visit to the East the *Chronicle* observed that "Abilene does not seem like itself when Mr. H. is away, and take from Abilene what he has done for her and

26. Junction City *Union*, April 3, 1875. An interesting Easterner's view of "Kansas Farmers and Illinois Dairymen" is to be found in *The Atlantic Monthly*, v. XLIV (December, 1879), pp. 717-725. It referred mostly to the Santa Fe railroad territory and expressed the conclusion that probably there was more large scale speculation in land along the Kansas Pacific railway than along the Santa Fe, but attributed the difference to the land policies of the two roads.

27. Abilene *Chronicle*, February 22, 1878.

28. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1879.

where would Abilene be?"²⁹ Of course such praise would have had more force if the announcement had not appeared three weeks later that Henry no longer owned an interest in the *Chronicle*.³⁰ But the tone of the paper was essentially the same a year later in the New Year's boom article summarizing four years of city growth, including Henry's holdings: The Henry House, a portion of the Masonic block, his new residence (costing \$10,000-\$12,000), the finest in the state, and other residence property. His chief claim to gratitude was, however, his contribution to agriculture:

To his enterprise and genius are we largely indebted for our growth. It was he who demonstrated that Kansas is a wheat growing State. Four years ago Kansas was known abroad as a great corn State, but thanks to the experiments made by Mr. H. our State is now the banner wheat State of the nation. The immense influence one private citizen may exert in the destiny of a great State, was never more striking [sic] illustrated than in the case of T. C. Henry and wheat growing in Kansas. . . .³¹

Although it was the Enterprise *Kansas Gazette* that had served as the medium for the criticism directed at the "Golden Belt" article, that paper, upon moving to Abilene was not critical of the county's most conspicuous citizen. The editor was somewhat more restrained, however, in assigning credit with respect to winter-wheat growing, claiming only that "Hon. T. C. Henry was the first man in Kansas who engaged in the growing of winter wheat, on a large scale."³² There is no question that in part the favorable press he enjoyed was because he always made good copy in any town where he might make the most casual business visit. Also, he had a way of bringing a wide range of persons into his orbit in such a manner as to place them under a certain obligation to him. For example, he personally conducted the representative of the Junction City *Union* on a tour of the county, and had G. W. Martin, editor of the *Union*, write a pamphlet on the resources and prospects of Dickinson county.³³ Henry's significance in the period probably does not lie exactly in any of the features commented upon in the contemporary press, but rather in his capacity and his aggressiveness in expressing the spirit of his time. Even on such points as his theory that there was no change in climate he was flexible enough not to make it an issue. In these respects he is

29. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1878.

30. Enterprise *Kansas Gazette*, March 29, 1878.

31. Abilene *Chronicle*, January 3, 1879.

32. Abilene *Gazette*, January 10, 1879.

33. Junction City *Union*, May 9, 1874; Enterprise *Kansas Gazette*, February 1, 1878. In similar fashion he showed the Topeka *Commonwealth* correspondent around and furnished him with material.—*The Daily Commonwealth*, August 29, 1882.

like so many who are noted as leaders only because of an ability to make themselves heard above the voices of others who were trying, but less successfully, to say much the same thing.

It was only natural, however, that at this point in his career he should be drawn into politics. In 1876 he was mentioned for congress, in 1877 he was chairman of the Dickinson county Republican committee, in 1878 he was boomed for lieutenant governor and was elected state senator, and in 1880 he was an unsuccessful candidate for nomination as governor. After the election he was chosen president of the State Fair Association. Politics turned out to have been only a passing episode, the main trend of his Kansas career being already determined.³⁴

DIVERSIFICATION

Among those whose interest lay primarily in general farming there were a few, but only a few, who kept up the mixed farming (grain and livestock) agitation through the wheat-boom period. Conspicuous in this little group was Prof. E. M. Shelton at the Kansas State Agricultural College who condemned in scathing terms "that slovenly, scourging system, called 'pioneer farming.'" ³⁵ T. Dunlap of Willowdale, in Dickinson county, was a frequent newspaper correspondent who insisted that "the only way to make farming a success in Dickinson county is to raise hogs or sheep, or both, in connection with the small grains."³⁶

It was not until the disastrous years 1879, 1880, and 1881, however, with their droughts, wind and extremes of temperature that diversification again became conspicuous. The stress on livestock then went so far in some quarters as to become a livestock boom and illustrates again the cyclic swing of excesses. In Saline county in 1880 it was said that:

Were it not for the hogs and cattle that our farmers are now selling, there would be very little money in this county to do business with. Our friends in the country can now realize that there are other sources of wealth than the growing of wheat. Corn put into hogs always commands a fair price, and is never a complete failure. This year will be referred to by those advocating mixed farming.³⁷

34. *Salina Journal*, April 6, 1876; *Enterprise Kansas Gazette*, September 28, 1877; *Abilene Gazette*, May 10, September 6, November 8, 1878; May 8, August 20, 27, November 28, 1880.

35. *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, January 11, 1877. At the Farmers' Institute conducted at the college, livestock problems occupied a prominent place.—*The Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 25, 1878; February 7, 1879. The fact must be recognized, however, that the college was influenced somewhat by the prevailing point of view of the livestock counties in which it was located, rather than by the wheat counties to the westward.

36. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 18, 1877. William Vandermark advocated sheep feeding as a means of utilizing cheap corn and hay in Dickinson county, but he represented the sheep specialization interest rather than general farming.—*Ibid.*, February 8, 1878.

37. *Salina Herald*, January 10, 1880.

The comment of the same paper two weeks later illustrates how the stress on livestock as a part of a mixed-farming program easily became advocacy for a substitution of livestock for wheat:

The raising of stock must soon take the place of grain growing in this part of Kansas, and the sooner the farmers take hold of this great interest the better for them. Sheep and cattle will put more money in your pocket than wheat growing.³⁸

GRASS

This emphasis upon diversification placed additional stress upon the grass problem, which had worried the better farmers coming from the timbered East where grasses were not nature's own soil covering. It was generally assumed that the native grasses, blue-stem, grama and buffalo, could not stand pasturing and tame grasses would have to be cultivated as in the humid climates. The fallacy of this "good farming" assumption was one of the most difficult illusions to dispel in the sub-humid West where grass was just as much nature's covering for this region as timber had been for the humid climate, and all that the native grasses required to survive was fair odds. But pending the learning of this lesson the hard way in the school of experience, the best farmers spent money and labor and exhortation on futile efforts to grow clover, timothy, blue-grass and orchard grass. In spite of the reports for over a decade that buffalo and grama grass were being replaced by tall grasses, a tour of farms around Junction City in 1882 revealed buffalo grass and two years later it was pointed out that Frémont in 1843 had found that buffalo grass gave way to tall grass about the site of Abilene. In 1887 Prof. W. A. Kellerman called attention to the fact that buffalo grass was growing on the college campus at Manhattan within sight of his laboratory, and he doubted whether the native Kansas flora was changing, but urged the importance of scientific study and records as a means of a more certain determination of trends.³⁹

Out of the experimentation with tame grasses, however, one momentous discovery was made in alfalfa, but because the secret of inoculation of the soil had not been discovered, the full significance of this crop was not realized until later. Introduced into Kansas

38. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1880. Many advocated mixed farming during 1881 and 1882 and some of the most significant are listed here.—*Abilene Chronicle*, June 17, 1881; *Salina Herald*, July 16, 1881; January 21, 1882; *Nationalist*, Manhattan, May 5, 1881, in comment upon the herd law counties to the west of Riley county.

39. *Junction City Union*, September 9, 1882; June 7, 1884; *Industrialist*, Manhattan, February 26, 1887.

from the Pacific coast, probably in 1868,⁴⁰ the importation of seed was given public notice in 1875 at Junction City where it was hailed as a drought-resisting grass.⁴¹ Later in the spring upon boasting that the alfalfa was eighteen inches high, the Burlington *Independent*, in real or pretended ignorance made inquiry:

We have noticed the following paragraph in no less than 20 exchanges: "Junction City has alfalfa eighteen inches high." Some of them we verily believe have published it two or three times. Now who cares? What of it? Is it a world wonder? Is it a scientific or religious discovery? What is Junction City going to do with it? Will it likely prove contagious? Does it resemble warts? Will it taste in whiskey? Is Junction City any happier? When did the city have it? Did it hurt her very bad? Who was the attending physician? What is alfalfa anyhow?⁴²

THE LIVESTOCK BOOM

With the extremes of weather, 1879-1881, a sheep boom became conspicuous and in addition to a number of farmers who raised sheep a number of business men in Abilene invested during 1880.⁴³ Range sheep were brought in in large numbers from Colorado, New Mexico and other points west.⁴⁴ Well bred sheep of both fine wool and mutton types were imported from the East, but most emphasis was on wool.⁴⁵ Many difficulties presented themselves: Inexperience, poor quality of animals, diseases, dogs and as one editor put it, the tariff was a greater worry than the sheep.⁴⁶ The general interest in sheep resulted in the organization of the Kansas Wool Growers' Association in 1881.⁴⁷ The sheep boom ran its course but did not become a fully accepted business for this particular area, the upper Kansas valley.

The cattle business was represented in a substantial manner throughout the decade of the 1870's, stemming from the Cherokee and Texas cattle beginnings of the 1860's. The most noted enterprise was the Durham Park ranch in northern Marion county owned by Albert Crane and son of Chicago, the land holdings being first

40. H. W. Doyle, ed. and comp., *Alfalfa in Kansas* (*Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending June, 1916*), pp. 11-13.

41. *Junction City Union*, March 27, 1875.

42. *Ibid.*, June 5, 26, 1875.

43. *Abilene Chronicle*, February 18, 1881.

44. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1881; January 4, 1884; *Marion Record*, November 4, 1881; *Junction City Union*, December 22, 1883.

45. *Abilene Gazette*, June 6, 1879; *Nationalist*, Manhattan, July 8, 1880; *Junction City Union*, November 17, 24, 1877; August 12, 1882; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 4, 1877; May 12, August 25, 1882.

46. *Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 7, 1881; *Abilene Chronicle*, April 1, 1881, dogs and seab; *Marion Record*, January 14, 1881, dogs; *Abilene Gazette*, December 31, 1880, tariff; *Junction City Union*, June 14, 1884, tariff.

47. *The Breeder's Gazette*, Chicago, v. I (January 26, 1882), p. 199.

assembled during 1872 including the old Moore ranch.⁴⁸ In the 1880's there were eight sections in one body and 560 acres in three detached pieces.⁴⁹ Apparently the original plan of operations was to use Texans as a foundation for growing grade cattle on a large scale. In line with this plan, the ranch was stocked with 3,000 Texas cattle, and several car loads of Illinois cattle were shipped in during 1873 including 28 pedigree Shorthorn bulls and 19 cows.⁵⁰ One report said that the cost of purebreds was so high that Crane decided to produce his own animals, and that soon the objective shifted to the growing of purebreds as the primary activity of the ranch.⁵¹ At any rate, beginning in the summer of 1873 Crane made annual trips to England to buy breeding stock and bought also English stock by way of Canada and Kentucky.⁵² The first catalogue was issued in 1874, listing 31 bulls and 61 cows and notices of other catalogues have been found for 1877, 1882, and the dispersal catalogue of 1884.⁵³

Sales of purebred cattle were made to many Kansas stockmen and thus became one of the important factors in the Kansas Shorthorn breeding industry. In 1877 a news story told of the shipment of two cows and their calves to England, the first of the growing return stream of Shorthorn blood to its mother soil. Crane specialized in Bates and Booth strains which were the fashion of the day and were reaching fantastic boom proportions, but many of his earlier animals were roans and whites.⁵⁴

The ranch was under the immediate direction of Albert Crane's son, Daniel W. Crane, who was referred to as joint owner with his father.⁵⁵ The management of the ranch was under three successive men associated with "the Major," as the son was known. First was Louis A. Reed who remained from 1873 to 1876 when he went into business for himself.⁵⁶ Next came William Watson, probably 1876-

48. Marion Record, September 7, 1872; March 1, August 9, 1873, from the Atchison Champion. David I. Day, "Memories of the Crane Ranch," and "More Crane Ranch Memories," Milking Shorthorn Journal, Chicago, May, June, 1941.

49. Atlas, Marion County, . . . (Chicago, The Davy Map and Atlas Co., 1885). The newspaper stories often gave the size as 10,000 acres.

50. Marion Record, March 1, August 9, 1873; January 5, 1883.

51. Ibid., January 3, 1883; Salina Herald, February 19, 1876, from Salina Register.

52. Marion Record, August 9, 1873; May 7, 1875; April 28, 1876; April 6, September 14, November 2, 1877.

53. Ibid., July 11, 1874; April 6, 1877; The Breeder's Gazette, Chicago, v. I (March 2, 1882), p. 332; Kansas City (Mo.) Live-stock Indicator, May 29, June 26, 1884. No copy of any of these catalogues has been found.

54. Abilene Chronicle, November 23, 1877; July 12, 1878; Marion Record, January 5, 1883.

55. Ibid., August 9, December 6, 1873; April 28, 1876; January 26, 1877; Junction City Union, August 11, 1877; June 22, October 26, 1878.

56. Marion Record, August 9, 1873; June 9, 30, 1876. There may have been a fourth, between Reed and Watson, but contemporary records are inadequate at that point.

1878, when he bought a 160-acre farm near Junction City to devote himself to raising Berkshire hogs, but within about a year moved on to another venture. Before coming to Kansas he was supposed to have had cattle experience in Scotland, New Zealand, Australia, California and Oregon.⁵⁷ The third was William Hallowell, 1878 to 1884. He had been with the *National Live Stock Journal*, Chicago, and after the Crane ranch was closed went to manage the T. W. Harvey herds at Turlington, Neb. It was thought that he might "feel a little awkward for a while, among the Angus, the Holsteins, and Jerseys."⁵⁸

Hallowell was an enthusiastic advocate of the Shorthorn as a dairy as well as a beef breed, and was invited to present his views February 5, 1880, at the first institute held at Manhattan under the auspices of the Central Kansas Breeders' Association. The text of his address has not been found but W. Marlatt of Manhattan reported it. Hallowell maintained that the milking Shorthorn was equal to the Jersey for butter and to any or all other breeds for both butter and cheese: "The production of beef and milk in a high degree of excellence is not incompatible." All the early Shorthorn strains in England were good milkers, but, he argued that in America, and especially in the West, milking qualities had been largely bred out in favor of beef. To build up a milking Shorthorn herd for dual purposes, he emphasized the importation of English milking strains, although there were some approved milking strains in the United States. O. W. Bell and Marlatt, both leading breeders in the Manhattan area, supported Hallowell.⁵⁹

In addition to cattle the Crane ranch devoted much attention to Berkshire hogs, and experimented extensively with tame grasses, bluegrass first, but near the end of the history of the ranch, with orchard grass, at the instance of Shelton of the agricultural college.

The closing out of the ranch occurred in 1884 when the land was sold to an Abilene group supposedly at \$15.00 per acre to be broken up into farms.⁶⁰ The herd was sold likewise to the same group and dispersed at a public auction at Abilene, June 18. The sale was a disappointment, badly attended, and the cattle in poor condition so the average price was only \$150.40.⁶¹ The only specific reason given for closing the ranch was the untimely death of

57. Junction City *Union*, June 22, October 26, 1878; September 13, 1879.

58. *Ibid.*, June 22, 1878; Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-stock Indicator*, June 5, 1884.

59. *Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 30, February 13, 1880.

60. Abilene *Chronicle*, January 18, 1884; Marion *Record*, February 8, 1884.

61. Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-stock Indicator*, May 29, June 26, 1884.

Crane's son, but details are not available.⁶² The more fundamental reason for the break-up of this and other ranches containing wheat land was the development of the area with the resulting rise in land prices and the anticipation of higher profits as wheat farms. Some went during the boom period of the late 1870's and others, as in the case of Durham Park, with the resumption of the wheat boom in the mid-1880's.

Other big ranch or stock farm enterprises of the 1870's were the Springdale ranch of Charles E. Alioth (1871-1879) upon which the town of Herington was founded in 1884; A. W. Callen's ranch (1870-?) on Lime creek and three others in which he owned an interest; and the Geraldine stock farm (1870-?) of Huston Brothers on upper Lyon's creek. In Saline county was the Thomas H. Cavanaugh Highland stock farm where Hereford cattle, Cotswold sheep and Berkshire hogs were raised. In the vicinity of Manhattan and Junction City there were a number of substantial stock farms engaged in raising one or more lines of pure bred animals; cattle, hogs, horses. In the Junction City region were the Seven Springs farm of Charles H. Murphy; the McGee farm; the Riverside farm of R. M. Miller; the H. H. Whiting farm; the B. E. Fullington farm; the Elmwood farm of C. M. Gifford. Near Manhattan were the Blue Valley ranch of W. P. Higginbottom; the Montrose stock farm of C. E. Allen; the Bluemont farm of W. Marlatt, and General Casement's farm with grazing land across the Blue river in Pottawatomie county which was fenced for pasture in 1880.

Among the livestock breeders, comparatively few appear to have given much attention to adaptability to environment. There were several breeds of each type of livestock represented in the region, each with its ardent followers. Among the sheep, were Merino, Cotswold, Shropshire, Hampshire, Oxford Down, and Leicester. The Merino was the favorite as wool rather than mutton was the principal objective.⁶³ Among the hogs mentioned most frequently were the Berkshire, Poland China, and Chester White, with the Berkshire apparently the most favored, a breed introduced into Geary county in 1871.⁶⁴ Among cattle were Shorthorn, Hereford,

62. *Marion County Democrat*, Marion, July 5, 1883, from *The Farmers' Review*. The death of a son, George, who was buried at Marion, was recorded by the *Marion Record*, March 31, 1882, but this hardly seems to account for the sale because it was the son Daniel who had been identified with Durham Park, and no notice of his death has been found.

63. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, March 14, April 18, 1878; *Abilene Gazette*, March 21, June 6, 1879; *Junction City Union*, April 30, 1870; November 17, 1877; August 12, 26, 1882; *Abilene Chronicle*, October 20, 1876; March 11, 1881; June 16, August 25, 1882; *Manhattan Nationalist*, October 12, 1877; January 25, 1878; July 8, 1880.

64. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, March 14, April 18, 1878; *Junction City Union*, March 18, May 6, 1876; May 18, 1878; February 8, May 3, 1879; *Manhattan Nationalist*, May 7, 1880; *Marion Record*, April 18, 1872.

Angus, and Devon. The Shorthorn was clearly the leader, the Angus receiving attention in the early 1880's, but the Hereford did not come into his own for the range trade until the 1880's.⁶⁵ Among horses were Norman and Clydesdale, mentioned most frequently for work stock, but the issue as between horses and mules for farm work was not discussed.⁶⁶ For the most part the best discussions available that reflect opinions respecting the relative merits of the different breeds were those held at the farmers' institutes.⁶⁷

T. C. HENRY, LATER CAREER

The career of T. C. Henry fitted into the prevailing regional trends. As a leader in the wheat boom, his agricultural interests had been concentrated largely in wheat, but in 1877 he was credited with the largest orchard in that part of Kansas. "The Golden Belt" article had listed other crops besides winter wheat; 300 acres of spring wheat; 300 acres of barley; 300 acres of corn, and 100 acres of oats. With these crops and 3,000 acres of winter wheat, his farming operations supposedly covered 4,000 acres that year. Probably, if not almost certainly, a part of this diversification was imposed upon him by the winter killing of his wheat. During the winter of 1877-1878 he engaged in a partnership operation with William Vandermark for feeding 5,000 sheep,⁶⁸ and thereafter turned more definitely toward the livestock interest.

The available descriptions of Henry's business ventures suggest that he resorted to two types of partnerships, or business arrangements, formal or informal in character. The one was employed as a means of securing capital both locally and from the East to finance his operations. The other was an arrangement by which he secured in the minority partners active managers in his several enterprises instead of hired agent-managers. Theoretically at least, a sense of responsibility should have been derived from such an ownership interest. Henry's contribution in such cases was the financing and the general direction of the business. Some of his early wheat operations were of the first type,⁶⁹ but the sheep-feeding project appears

65. Abilene *Chronicle*, June 30, 1882; Abilene *Gazette*, February 28, 1879; February 16, 23, 1883; July 4, 1884; Saline County *Journal*, Salina, March 14, April 18, 1878; Junction City *Union*, March 18, May 6, 1876; June 30, 1877; April 19, 1879; Manhattan *Nationalist*, February 7, 1879; May 7, 1880; Manhattan *Industrialist*, May 3, 1884; Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-stock Indicator*, March 6, 1884.

66. Junction City *Union*, March 30, October 26, December 7, 1878; Abilene *Gazette*, December 2, 1881.

67. Manhattan *Nationalist*, January 4, 25, 1878; February 7, 1879; February 6, 1880; February 17, 1881.

68. Enterprise *Kansas Gazette*, January 11, 1878.

69. Salina *Herald*, May 13, 1876; Abilene *Chronicle*, July 21, 1876; Enterprise *Kansas Gazette*, March 29, 1878.

to have been of the second type as well as his real estate partnerships in which the minority partner carried on the routine work of the real estate office.⁷⁰ In later years both devices were more frequently employed, or at least notices of them found their way more frequently into the newspapers.⁷¹

With the severe drought of 1879 and 1880 he expanded extensively into livestock. In 1881 he fenced all of a section northwest of Abilene to provide pasture to supplement bottom corn land. At the same time a partnership with Bronson was announced for a sheep ranch, 500 head of Merinos to be shipped in from New York to improve the local flock.⁷² During the same summer, in cooperation with the firm of Harbottle and Cooper, Cherokee cattle were purchased in the Indian territory to be driven to Abilene in September for resale to farmers on one-year credit at 10 percent interest.⁷³

As Henry had led the wheat boom, now he became a spokesman for the livestock boom of the early 1880's. Before the Central Kansas Stock Breeders' Association at Manhattan, February 1, 1882, he delivered an address on "The Stock Interests in Western Kansas."

I apprehend that some, possibly many, of the propositions I shall advance on this occasion will subject me to criticism. . . . But I believe we are just upon the threshold of an era of substantial growth and real prosperity. We are wiser: drouths, grasshoppers, chinch-bugs and winds have taught us,—how much, and what, let us see.

By western Kansas, I mean that portion of the State west from Fort Riley. . . . The attempt to sustain a population, then, wholly or mainly by grain-growing alone, must be conceded, I am sure, after a ten year's effort, to be unsuccessful. Only so far as the system of farming adopted is auxiliary to the stock interests, can it be commended. . . . The newspaper, the railway and free homesteads are powerful agencies in building up a State now; but even more mighty is the withering, scorching, south wind. The former have more or less wittingly decoyed thousands and tens of thousands of honest, earnest people into a determined effort to settle the plains of western Kansas; and the latter has as steadily blasted their hopes and wrested their fortunes.

. . . No industry, no energy, no enterprise can ever make it possible for an average 160 acres in western Kansas to yield such a support as American civilization demands for a family. The soil is fertile, and the climate unobjectionable; but the rainfall is insufficient to sustain general farming. Nor has

70. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1878.

71. The details of the methods used in financing Henry's operations would require a separate treatment, and constitute a revealing picture of the informalities with which business was transacted. The history of Western development cannot be at all complete until a variety of samples, of which Henry would be only one, can be studied in detail to reconstruct the amazing processes employed in financing such enterprises. A convenient introduction is to be found in the opinions of federal judges in the litigation cited in Footnote 87.

72. *Abilene Chronicle*, July 8, 1881.

73. *Ibid.*, August 5, 1881.

there been any material increase in the annual rainfall; . . . but so long as the Rocky Mountains border us on the west, so long will the natural humidity of the atmosphere be lessened.

. . . If ever any general climatic changes occur in our State, it will be effected by some great organic law wholly outside of any merely human agency. I conclude, therefore, that the present physical phenomena of the plains and prairies of Kansas will continue practically unchanged, and every successfully organized industry must be conformed to them. Here and there among the eastern counties of western Kansas, where the chemical constituents of the soil are particularly favorable, wheat growing may be made profitable. Even in such counties it should be a subordinate crop, and in all others wholly abandoned. Dry winters, late spring frosts, hot winds, chinch-bugs, and, occasionally, grasshoppers, involve risks which no prudent farmer will confront. Corn is a safer crop, and its culture may be pushed further west. . . . Rye is very valuable, particularly for winter grazing. Oats, barley, and millet do well in a "wet year."

Confident, therefore, that stock growing must be the leading and almost sole industry of western Kansas, I purpose directing the balance of this essay to the consideration of such measures as will, in my opinion, most wisely protect and advance that interest.

First.—*Preserve our native grasses.* . . . No artificial grass has yet been supplied which can be relied upon as a substitute for them. They appear late in the spring, and they frost early in the fall; but they are bulky, abundant and nutritious. At any rate, they are all we have, all we are likely to have, and if once destroyed our plains would be a desert indeed.

Second.—Repeal the homestead and pre-emption laws. No further good can be accomplished by continuing in existence laws which result in harm to their beneficiaries, and embarrass the operation of a class of industries naturally adapted to the State. If this cannot be effected, then abridge the term of occupancy, and thus expedite the facility of procuring title in fee, with a view to the more rapid absorption of territory by the stock interest.

Third.—Repeal the timber-culture act. . . . Probably no more practically absurd law was ever enacted in Congress, save, possibly, that other "timber law," which proposes, by a compound of astonishing inconsistencies, to "protect" American lumber by cutting down American timber. . . .

Again, the public domain should pass as soon as possible or practicable into the hands of private owners. . . . The public lands should be appraised in solid sections, and offered for sale under the direction of the General Land Department. The general government would secure a large fund, and the revenues of the State be largely augmented. . . .

But when stock men are obliged to purchase the range, and pay land tax, the situation is reversed. They will then be sure to insist upon controlling and grazing their own territory. To do this peaceably and profitably, sooner or later they will be forced to fence. Large bodies may be enclosed, in which several parties can join. A law can be enforced requiring suitable gateways to be placed at regular intervals. . . .

But some may urge, why agitate these sweeping changes now? The stock interests do not demand them. Possibly not, at least just yet. If the ratio which has marked the increase of the live stock interests of this State the past

two years is maintained the next ten, every acre of grass on the prairies and on the plains will be consumed. Within half that time every available watering place will be struggled for. Sheep men and cattle men will battle for range, and conflicting interests embroil the whole territory.⁷⁴

Henry professed to be worried lest his livestock address would arouse hostility, but again he was voicing largely the current trend of opinion. Although differing from Henry on some points, J. W. Robson wrote to the Abilene *Chronicle*, gently but firmly, taking him to task for not having said such things earlier:

Agricultural booms, and specialties, has been our bane in this State of Kansas. Had every settler in Kansas located on a 160-acre farm been satisfied with eighty acres of arable land, and this planted with various crops, leaving the remaining eighty acres in native grass, for the pasturage of cattle and sheep, we would have been in a sound financial condition today, and our families would have been living in comfort and luxury. [But] Ah, friend Henry, that terrible epidemic "wheat on the brain" prostrated the farmer financially, and blasted his hopes. . . .

On the subject of native grasses Robson agreed with Henry, but, he continued, what benefactors Henry and the old settlers would have been if they had always advised new comers to plow only half, but they lacked that foresight. Of course the farmer suffered also from other evils, according to Robson; unfriendly legislation, railroad monopolies, and trade combinations. Robson challenged Henry's views on climate, tame grasses and land legislation. He thought favorable changes in climate were to be expected, but admitted that in spite of the fact that the subject had been the leading topic of discussion in 1871-1875, they knew nothing about it. He still had faith that growing of tame grasses would yet be successful. These differences were not such as to arouse much controversy, but the issue of public land legislation involved traditions that stirred deep-seated emotions. Robson argued that the land laws were the only legislation enacted in twenty-five years which favored the producing classes and he denounced the proposed repeal as an unpatriotic move that would deprive every landless citizen of his birth-right.⁷⁵

The Topeka *Commonwealth* became a sort of clearing house for discussion of Henry's views. The editor challenged Henry's dictum that grain raising in Dickinson county and westward did not pay and farmers should turn immediately to stock raising, warning of failure because blooded cattle needed grain and only Texas cattle could live exclusively on prairie grass and creek water. One of the

74. *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, February 4, 1882.

75. *Abilene Chronicle*, March 3, 1882.

hobbies of the *Commonwealth* was irrigation of a large part of the country west of Larned and Hays, and therefore, the editor protested Henry's proposal for a change in the land laws that would permit disposal of government land in large tracts for stock raising and urged the railroads not to dispose of their lands in that manner either until irrigation had been given a fair trial. The successful adaptation of agriculture to the eastern half of Kansas had been achieved, but in his opinion "the true value" of the land to the westward had not yet been "even approximately ascertained."⁷⁶

An editorial of the Atchison *Champion* was reprinted challenging Henry's drawing of an isothermal line north and south through mid-Kansas and instead indicating a diagonal line from southeast to northwest through the southwestern corner of Sumner county and the northwestern corner of Decatur county, but qualifying even such a line because there were exceptions on both sides of it. The *Champion* disagreed with Henry's contention that 160 acres was not sufficient to support a family according to American standards.⁷⁷ A Larned correspondent of the Topeka *Daily Capital* emphasized the recent settlement of the extreme west, much not over five years, mentioned the large volume of production as recorded in the statistics of the state board of agriculture, disagreed with Henry that it was good only for stock but held that the farmers would learn also that it did not pay to depend entirely on wheat.⁷⁸

Henry replied that he did not intend his address to be interpreted as presented in these criticisms: "I did not draw an absolute isothermal line. I cannot, nor can anyone else. The climatic differences are too imperceptibly defined for that, as I said." He insisted that he did not say that grain did not pay in Dickinson county, only that the system of farming must be progressively different, a combination of grain and livestock, as agriculture proceeded westward into regions of lessening rainfall. As respects the 160-acre farm, he admitted that he should have made an exception of Dickinson and other eastern counties of the west half of the state, and intended it that way. As applied to the country further west, he challenged the *Commonwealth's* irrigation program as impracticable and repeated his opinion "that campaigns of experiment ought to end," and "remunerative industries . . . adapted to the natural conditions of the plains . . . should be fostered."⁷⁹

76. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, February 3, 1882. The address had been printed in full, February 2.

77. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1882.

78. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 10, 1882.

79. *The Commonwealth*, February 7, 1882.

The outcome of the discussion thus far had been to force Henry to restate his position in more exact language which excepted the central Kansas counties and in effect narrowed the discussion to country further west, the High Plains in particular. The *Saline County Journal* was not disposed to let Henry off with these explanations suggesting that maybe he had attempted to farm on too large a scale "for the knowledge he had of wheat growing. The same years that Henry failed many a 'small farmer' in the same section made money raising wheat. We firmly believe that the western portion of Kansas is just as good a wheat growing country as can be found anywhere, and is as suitable for agriculture of all kinds as any country. . . . [Crop failures are liable to happen anywhere] but he who will take 80 or 160 acres and farm *well* will flourish as well as any farmer in the wide world, as well as any person who has the same amount invested as our farmer in any other business."⁸⁰

In his own style, Henry carried out his new policies with vigor. With M. D. Herington he bought 10,000 acres of pasture land; with Robert Chapin of New York, 12,000 acres; and supposedly in his own right 16,000 acres more; all from the Missouri Pacific railroad (M. K. and T. land grant) in Riley, Wabaunsee, Dickinson and Morris counties.⁸¹ Later he was reported as president of a New York syndicate that had purchased all remaining M. K. and T. lands.⁸² The reason given for the earlier acquisitions was that "They will be held for grazing purposes, Mr. Henry's theory being that such lands may be required in the immediate future to meet the rapidly developing demands of stockmen." In connection with the later purchase, the announcement was made of the opening of offices at different points for resale of the lands, and much of this land was assembled by stockmen in conjunction with small holdings and fenced into large pastures in the bluestem-pasture region. A newspaper correspondent, interviewing Henry on the sale of these lands, reported that they were being offered to settlers at \$3.00 to \$5.00 per acre on twenty-years time at seven percent interest, the first payment being due only after two years. Henry was reported also to be advancing money to settlers for the purchase of livestock, the borrower proving his intentions by having built a house and dug a well and by actually living on the farm.

80. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, February 16, 1882.

81. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 26, 1882.

82. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, November 23, 1882.

Another project was a livestock farm established under the name of Henry and Warner. They purchased purebred Shorthorn and Hereford bulls with a view to carrying on an experiment to determine the relative merits of the two breeds grown under the same conditions.⁸³ Later the same year Henry was reported to be organizing a horse raising corporation with a \$50,000 capital, to operate on 5,000 acres of land in southeastern Dickinson county, overrunning into Morris county. They proposed to specialize in Clydesdales.⁸⁴ The project does not seem to have materialized.

Apparently Henry's initial livestock enterprise did not turn out as well as his beginnings in raising wheat, and a new type of boom was arising in the West—irrigation. Henry's interest in irrigation had cropped out casually in his earlier public addresses, especially his "Wheat Culture" address of 1878, but his livestock address of 1882 had challenged it as applied to the Plains. In March, 1883, the announcement was made that he would transfer his residence and interests to Denver, leaving at the end of the month.⁸⁵

This announcement drew a parting tribute from J. W. Robson:

. . . It was his abiding faith in Dickinson County and his indomitable energy that induced thousands of intelligent and industrious men with their families to settle on these fertile plains. . . . And we are confident that the old homesteaders, as they plow their fields or gather the golden grain, will gratefully remember his many acts of kindness and words of sympathy and encouragement during the dark days of early settlement. . . .

The energy of my friend was wonderful, the amount of mental work which he performed was only known to his most intimate friends. His ideas of work were exacting. He knew nothing of mere office hours; an idea struck him and he immediately inspired it with *life* and *vim*, and it had to go till it accomplished the full fruition which he expected.

The question arises in my mind, as I write these lines, upon whom will his mantle fall. Where among all our fellow citizens will we find a man possessed with the same business tact, courage, open-handed generosity and honesty of purpose? I am afraid we will not see his like again, but if we look over our County which he served so well and did so much to develop its resources, and increase its wealth; when we gaze upon the beautiful city of the plains which he built up and beautified more than any other man, we will always have reminders of the great work which he performed in our midst. . . .⁸⁶

Seemingly Henry had lost his touch and as so often happened with men who made a measure of success in relatively small enter-

83. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 30, 1882.

84. *Ibid.*, December 22, 1882.

85. *Ibid.*, March 9, 16, 30, July 27, 1883.

86. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1883.

prises, he overexpanded, became involved in financial difficulties, and in lawsuits which challenged even his business integrity.⁸⁷

He did not escape altogether from criticism by local people. G. W. Martin of the Junction City *Union*, after reviewing the lawsuits of 1885 remarked that "Henry is known as a rattler . . ." and in 1893 commented that "the original wheat boomer of Kansas, is in bad luck again. . . . In many respects Henry is a remarkable man but with his success he has had so much trouble as to suggest the lack of a balance wheel in his make up."⁸⁸

Evaluation of T. C. Henry's career requires much more perspective than can be derived from the history of Abilene alone. Was community building on the frontier dependent for success upon a strong man or was success the product of the rank and file of the people and the operation of natural forces? Studies of a variety of frontier communities reveal a substantial number of instances where one man or one group seemed to have been a directing and stabilizing force through early years. Early Junction City was dominated largely by Streeter and Strickler, merchants; Great Bend by E. R. Moses, merchant and miller; Stafford by the Larabee mills; and Kinsley by R. E. Edwards, merchant and stockman. Even a substantial list of illustrations does not constitute proof, however, of a strong-man theory. No personality or succession of them could establish a town and community where none was meant to be. Conversely, a community with natural advantages probably would develop without any such stimulus. Communities dominated for a greater or lesser time by some individual sometimes found it a serious handicap. The influence for better or worse was dependent upon the long-range soundness of the strong man, and on whether that influence was wielded broadly in the public interest or narrowly for selfish exploitation. The strong-man theory is made to appear more attractive by reason of the fact that where he received general approval, the praise bestowed upon him is usually a matter of voluminous record colored by the optimism of the local booster spirit.

87. Litigation arising out of T. C. Henry's financial difficulties as heard in the United States Circuit Court is found in *T. C. Henry v. Travellers Insurance Company*, 33 *Federal Reporter* (1887) 132-143; 34 *Federal Reporter* (1888) 258, 259; 35 *Federal Reporter* (1888) 15; 42 *Federal Reporter* (1890) 363-372; 45 *Federal Reporter* (1891) 299-303. Litigation in Colorado found its way to the Colorado Supreme Court, 26 *Pacific Reporter* (1891) 321.

References to Henry's financial difficulties and litigation in Kansas and elsewhere appeared in the local press: Abilene *Chronicle*, August 29, 1884; Abilene *Gazette*, October 24, 1884; Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-stock Indicator*, September 3, 1885; Junction City *Union*, September 5, October 10, 1885; Abilene *Reflector*, October 8, 1885; August 17, 1893, from the Kansas City *Gazette*.

The matters at issue in these suits lie outside the scope of this particular study and this reference is only what seems essential to the present purpose and is not to be interpreted as passing judgment upon any of the parties to the controversy.

88. Junction City *Union*, September 5, 1885; Abilene *Reflector*, August 17, 1893, from the Kansas City *Gazette*, with which Martin had become associated after leaving the *Union*.

and frequently by his control of the newspaper. When a strong man betrayed his community, except for the immediate outcry, there was no occasion or means for perpetuating his infamy or bad judgment. A short memory was an advantage when a community wished to attract settlers. Many promoters blew up before they could qualify as strong men and these casualties must be charged against the theory. Many prospered for a time along with the community and in a period of depression found they were overextended and were liquidated—if honest, with the least possible losses to their creditors, and if dishonest, their collapse ended in scandal. Some moved to other fields of activity on the assumption that they had outgrown their community and among such removals the casualty list was frequently high. A few remained permanently with their people, sharing prosperity and adversity together, the community benefiting in the long run, even when highly critical of their task-master who saw them through at a price when the going was rough, or even when no price was exacted and the private fortune was largely dissipated for the community welfare. The most important conclusion to be drawn is that no simple and universal formula can be discovered which explains history. Human behavior provides too many variables in addition to the uncertainties of natural forces.

T. C. Henry did not illustrate either possible extreme: temporary exploiter or permanent resident. Although suggesting that he showed a certain lack of balance, G. W. Martin had given him credit as "the original wheat-boomer of Kansas" and as serving as an example in the disastrous fall of 1874 by sowing wheat among the grasshoppers—it was "more than a real estate advertisement. It proved to be a great stroke in restoring confidence," and even to his own surprise his courage was rewarded by "a monstrous crop" in 1875.⁸⁹ As respects the speculative exploitation of land, an Eastern investigator recognized it as being more extensive along the Kansas Pacific than along the Santa Fe railroad, but attributed the difference to the land policies of the railroad.⁹⁰ Robson's evaluation in 1883, although a graceful tribute on the occasion of Henry's departure from Abilene, was scarcely to be taken as the verdict of history. Abilene's future did not depend upon any one man either then or earlier. The relative eclipse of Abilene by Salina was not because Henry had gone, but because Salina's position in central Kansas was more strategic with respect to the winter-wheat region and the development of the

89. *Abilene Reflector*, August 17, 1893, from the *Kansas City Gazette*.

90. Unsigned, *The Atlantic Monthly*, v. XLIV (December, 1879), pp. 717-725.

milling industry. It is quite possible that Henry realized this as early as 1883 and that this fact entered into his decision to try his fortune elsewhere. So far as adaptation of agriculture to the Plains is concerned, the verdict on Henry's Kansas career is failure—he followed boom after boom, wheat, livestock, irrigation, and in the last-named phase he abandoned Kansas without seeing his enterprise through to a stabilization upon the basis of an approximate or substantial adjustment to environment. He was first and last, primarily and essentially a speculator. This fact became clearer as the years passed. The regime of hard-winter wheat, lister tillage and other adjustments, occurred during his lifetime—he died in 1914—but in them he had no part.

VARIETIES OF WHEAT

In the early 1870's consideration of the varieties of wheat grown had not gone much beyond the sowing of the sorts to which the farmers had been accustomed in the East and to making a choice between the spring and fall types. Later in the 1870's the winter-wheat boom was based on the soft varieties and it was these that gave Kansas its first reputation as a wheat state. There were two groups of these wheats, the white and the red, and within each group were many varieties, some of which differed little from each other. As winter wheat became a major money crop the problem of varieties came to occupy a place of increasing importance in farm planning. The diversity of opinion and the duration of the debate over adaptability, without arriving at a conclusion, are indicative of the precarious position of all these varieties in the Kansas environment.

At the opening of the 1870's the named varieties of winter wheat grown in the upper Kansas river valley included White Bluestem, Michigan White, Red or Early (Little) May, Red Amber, Red Lancaster, and Mediterranean Red.⁹¹ Of these, the Early May received the widest endorsement. Because of confusion in nomenclature it is possible that the actual number of varieties were fewer than these names indicate.⁹² On the other hand, there were probably varieties sown that are not in this enumeration.

In the present discussion the enumeration of varieties grown during the 1870's is presented in the chronological sequence in which they were mentioned in the press, except for those which proved to be major contenders for honors and they are treated separately.

91. J. C. Malin, "Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production . . . ,"*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. X, p. 247.

92. J. Allen Clark, *et al.*, "Classification of American Wheat Varieties," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin No. 1074* (1922), hereafter cited as Clark, "Wheat Varieties."

In 1872 when the Early May had failed the complaint was made that the wheat available for local milling at Junction City had been limited to inferior spring wheats, much of it Black Sea and California rice wheat.⁹³ In Dickinson county the local editor recommended that each farmer decide for himself what variety he planted.⁹⁴ The United States Department of Agriculture had sent seed samples, the most promising of the white wheats being Tappahannock.⁹⁵ A white variety known as Diehl was reported as being grown in Geary county as early as 1872.⁹⁶ Mediterranean wheat planted in the fall of 1875 was advertised for seed wheat the following year in Saline county.⁹⁷ Jennings White wheat was introduced into Dickinson county apparently in the fall of 1875. Two years later, the white wheats were reported as badly rusted except the Jennings White which was said to be a rust-free variety.⁹⁸ In 1878 Geary county was represented at the Lawrence fair by ten varieties of wheat; among them were Red Velvet, Tappahannock, Jennings White, Clawson, Fultz, Red Chaff, May, and Odessa.⁹⁹ Egyptian wheat was reported in Dickinson county in 1878 and in 1879 and in the fall of the latter year one of the wheat kings of the county, R. J. Wemyss, planted six varieties: Walker, Clawson, White [?], Odessa, Fultz, and Red May, but staked about half his acreage on the Red May.¹⁰⁰ In 1879 Orange was mentioned and in 1880 varieties added to the list included White Genesee (White Bluestem), Golden Chaff, and Treadwell.¹⁰¹ The fall of 1879 and 1880 Amber was mentioned, in 1880 Bulgarian, and in 1881 Oregon, Rappahan-nock and Russian.¹⁰²

Some varieties enjoyed a substantial following and were sometimes hailed for a season as the solution of the wheat problem. Odessa or grass wheat was a variety, probably Russian in origin, of which there were several importations, and varying strains. The United States Department of Agriculture distributed it as early as

93. Junction City *Union*, August 30, 1873; Abilene *Chronicle*, May 7, 1880.

94. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1872.

95. J. K. Hudson, "Essay on Grains," *Transactions of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1872, pp. 274-283 at pp. 277, 278.

96. Junction City *Union*, August 15, 1874.—Grown by John P. Meader.

97. Salina *Herald*, September 16, 1876.

98. Junction City *Union*, July 14, 1877; Abilene *Chronicle*, September 13, 1878.

99. Junction City *Union*, September 14, 1878.

100. Abilene *Gazette*, June 21, 1878; Junction City *Union*, November 1, 1879.

101. Abilene *Gazette*, June 6, 1879; Abilene *Chronicle*, May 7, 1880.

102. Abilene *Gazette*, June 6, 1879; Abilene *Chronicle*, September 3, 1880; *Quarterly Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . March 31, 1880; Salina *Herald*, August 13, 1881; August 3, 1882; Abilene *Chronicle*, April 15, 1881. It was explained, however, that Bluestem, Genesee and Rappahan-nock were the same variety by a different name (*Chronicle*, September 16, 1881, from *The Kansas Farmer*).

1865,¹⁰³ but no record has been found of its introduction into Kansas or its spread. The first mention found of it in the upper Kansas valley was that D. D. Baird raised a crop in 1874 in Dickinson county, but the record is not clear whether as a spring or fall wheat. One of its peculiarities was that it seemed to produce well in either capacity: "As a fall wheat it yielded, this past season [1877], from twenty to thirty bushels per acre, in this neighborhood. As a spring wheat it yielded from twelve to twenty-seven bushels. . . . I [Baird] have been growing this wheat every year since 1874 [four crops], and I have never known it damaged seriously by rust, chinch bugs, worms, or, in fact anything else."¹⁰⁴

As a spring variety Odessa was mentioned as the favorite in Dickinson in 1876 and 1877,¹⁰⁵ a position it maintained rather generally in the central and northern wheat counties in 1880, 1881, 1882, when spring wheat all but disappeared in Kansas.¹⁰⁶ The spring wheat matured late making it a victim of mid-summer heat and drought, and of chinch bugs. Furthermore, the ripening and harvest of the wheat caused the bugs to migrate to the corn fields.

Fultz, frequently known as Bluestem in the Ohio valley, was selected in 1862 from a field of Lancaster (Mediterranean) wheat in Pennsylvania and by 1871 was being distributed by the United State Department of Agriculture.¹⁰⁷ The first reference to it in the upper Kansas valley dated its introduction from 1874. It was planted by B. F. Bailey in Geary county that year and was introduced by J. S. Hollinger into Liberty township, Dickinson county, the same year, taking the prizes at the county fair in 1875 and 1877.¹⁰⁸ For the most part it was still receiving favorable mention in the early 1880's¹⁰⁹ but on occasion it was condemned.¹¹⁰

Walker was an old variety of red winter wheat in the eastern part of the United States, but the story of the westward spread of this sort seems not to be known.¹¹¹ It was introduced into north Dickin-

103. Clark, "Wheat Varieties," pp. 107, 108.

104. Abilene *Chronicle*, January 4, 1878. A favorite variety: *Chronicle*, February 9, 1877. A spring or fall wheat: Junction City *Union*, November 17, 1877; *Chronicle*, January 4, 1878. A rust-free wheat: *Chronicle*, January 4, 1878. Rusting badly: *Chronicle*, July 5, 1878. A chinch bug-free wheat: *Nationalist*, Manhattan, February 1, 1878.

105. Abilene *Chronicle*, February 9, July 20, 1877.

106. Second and Third Quarterly Reports . . . 1880; First and Third Quarterly Reports . . . 1881; Third Quarterly Report . . . 1882, Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

107. Clark, "Wheat Varieties," pp. 83-85. A number of varieties of wheat were known as Bluestem.

108. Junction City *Union*, July 20, 1878; Abilene *Gazette*, June 30, 1878; Abilene *Chronicle*, January 14, June 9, 1878; June 29, August 3, October 19, 1877; June 14, 1878.

109. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1879; May 21, 1880; Salina *Herald*, August 28, 1880; July 30, 1881.

110. Abilene *Chronicle*, May 7, 1880. J. W. Robson condemned it severely on the ground that it winter-killed badly. In 1882, however, a favorable year, he reported Fultz in very fine condition.—*Ibid.*, June 28, 1882.

111. Clark, "Wheat Varieties," p. 77.

son county in 1875 and the claim was made that not even in 1877 did it fail to make a crop.¹¹²

Clawson, a white winter wheat, probably was introduced into Dickinson county under that name in 1877 by John Taylor.¹¹³ This type of wheat was known under a variety of names, Golden Chaff, Soules, White Russian, Seneca and its more modern version Gold-coin. The Clawson strain originated in Seneca county, New York, in 1865. As it was distributed by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1874 the strain might have come to several points in Kansas that year or later.¹¹⁴ Taylor and Henry introduced the seed, privately, from New York.

Nearly every variety of wheat had its champions, few showing themselves so outstanding or distinctive as to acquire a general following. As J. S. Hollinger and John Taylor were outstanding farmers in Liberty township, the former devoted especially to Fultz and the latter to Clawson,¹¹⁵ the farmer of lesser standing might well have been confused. It is evident that the leading larger farmers hedged against wheat losses by planting more than one variety. C. H. Lebold, at Abilene, planted 80 acres of Fultz and 40 acres each of Lancaster, Egyptian and May.¹¹⁶ John Taylor planted both Clawson and Fultz in 1878 but by 1882 had abandoned Clawson, using Fultz as the principal variety and Russian as a second.¹¹⁷ J. S. Hollinger, at Chapman, had 700 acres in 1879 divided among Fultz (best), Amber, Orange, Red Clawson and White Clawson.¹¹⁸ In the two eastern counties, Riley and Geary, as livestock became the more conspicuous interest, the debate over wheat varieties was less prominent, but by 1880 in Dickinson and Saline counties the adverse crop conditions of the late 1870's caused the rivalry of varieties to become an absorbing subject. "Wheat is King" had become the slogan, and J. W. Robson, a farmer who conducted an agricultural column in the *Chronicle* during a part of the period, presented his views:

Wheat is king in the county of Dickinson. It covers a larger area than any other cereal. And it excites more anxious thought from the time the seed is

112. J. W. Robson, in the *Abilene Chronicle*, May 7, 1880.

113. In *ibid.*, June 14, 1878. T. C. Henry claimed in 1904 that he introduced it, but the contemporary record credits the introduction to Taylor.—T. C. Henry, "The Story of a Fenceless Winter-Wheat Field," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 502-506 at p. 506.

There was a red variety of Clawson which was raised, but usually Clawson seems to have been the white type.—*Abilene Gazette*, June 6, 1879.

114. Clark, "Wheat Varieties," pp. 100-102.

115. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 6, 1879. The farms of both men were visited and described.

116. *Abilene Gazette*, June 21, 1878.

117. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1879; June 23, 1882.

118. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1879.

put in the ground till it is hauled to the elevator, than any other product of the farm. This anxiety is not confined to the farmer alone. The mechanic, the merchant, the banker and the railroad corporations, all feel it and daily give expressions to the feeling in the shape of anxious enquiry: "Is the wheat crop a failure this year?"

We answer yes! and however paradoxical it may seem we also answer no; it is not a failure. Permit us to explain.

Farmers who sowed a large acreage of Fultz and Egyptian wheat, are today chewing the cud of bitter disappointment. What is left of the Egyptian variety looks very sick indeed, as sick as the owner. And the Fultz variety is severely winter killed, and will only produce a partial crop. And yet we indulge the hope that the refreshing shower of today will better its present condition considerably.

And yet the wheat crop is not a failure. Every field of Walker, Early May, Orange, White Genesee, (or white bluestem as it is called by many) and Golden Chaff which we have seen within the last fortnight gives promise of a large yield.

The Walker wheat was introduced into North Dickinson in 1875 and it has never failed to produce a crop, not even in 1877.

The Early May failed in 1872, and partially failed in 1877. This is a standard variety, and always finds a ready market. The millers prefer it to any other kind.

The White Genesee was nearly a total failure in 1877, but with the exception of that year it has been a success for thirteen years. This and the two preceding varieties should be more extensively grown in the future, instead of those kinds producing a larger and finer berry, but which have proved a delusion and a snare to many of our brother farmers this year.

The Orange is a good wheat but it has one bad fault: it shells badly in the harvesting.

If the Treadwell wheat has passed safely through the winter we hope those who have made a specialty of this variety will report. Now is the time to take notes, and to decide which varieties we shall sow next fall.

We have decided already and our decision is in favor of Walker, Early May and White Genesee. The Fultz shall never again obtain a foothold on our homestead. But this is only our opinion, brother farmers give us yours.¹¹⁹

The condemnation of Fultz by Robson brought out a defense by John Trott of Crystal valley who insisted his Fultz beat his Blue-stem by six bushels and also his neighbors' May and Walker. In April, 1880, the Salina *Journal* conducted a survey, reporting data on farmer opinion of wheat prospects. Most growers had two or more varieties. Of 45 farmers interviewed five did not specify varieties. Amber wheat was rated best or equal to the best by three, fair by four and a failure by one. Fultz was rated best by two, fair by four, and a failure by three. Odessa was rated best by two, fair by five, and a failure by one. Oregon was rated best by two. Russian was mentioned only once and then as the best of six

119. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 9, 1880, from *Abilene Chronicle*, May 7, 1880.

varieties grown. The Red (Early or Little) May had the best, but it did not have a clear record, and was reported inferior to two or more rival varieties by eight of the 35 farmers naming it in their reports; five rated it equal to the best; twelve rated it the best of two or more competing named varieties, and ten raised only May.¹²⁰ In 1881 the *Chronicle* reprinted the recommendation of a writer in *The Kansas Farmer* that wheat growers divide their sowing on a 3-3-2 ratio; white wheat (Bluestem, Genesee and Rappahannock), May and one other.¹²¹

The Kansas State Board of Agriculture inaugurated in 1879 a policy of reports on the condition of winter wheat by counties and in 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1884 most of the reports commented upon varieties. These state-wide surveys afford a basis for comparison with the four counties which are the subject of this study. The most frequently and favorably mentioned were May, Fultz and Odessa (as a winter wheat), and others, listed with moderate frequency, were Mediterranean (Lancaster), Bluestem, Genesee, Walker, Treadwell, Oregon, Amber, and Clawson. In 1881 the quarterly reports indicated that, on a state-wide basis, Early May was still the favorite, Fultz second, Odessa still conspicuous, but the field was widely divided. In 1883 the range was May, Fultz and Walker in the top positions, among the soft wheats, but not necessarily in that order in the several counties. Hard wheat was conspicuous in the reports for 1882, and still more so in 1884, but the soft wheats predominated with leading opinion divided among May, Fultz, Amber, Oregon, and Zimmerman. In 1883 one farmer was hedging on the basis of two-thirds May and one-third Russian.¹²²

The experimentation and discussion of the wheat problem had turned on the soft varieties, and T. C. Henry argued in 1878, "I do not advise much further experimentation in new varieties. We have a sufficient number already introduced that are adapted to our soil and climate."¹²³ He was depending at that time primarily upon the Early May, not realizing that unforeseen developments in the next few years would prove him not only wrong, but even make his declaration a bit ridiculous.

(*Part III to be Published in the May Issue*)

120. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, April 29, 1880.

121. *Abilene Chronicle*, September 16, 1881.

122. *Abilene Gazette*, October 12, 1883.

123. T. C. Henry, "Kansas Wheat Culture," a paper read before the Farmers' Institute at Manhattan, January 17, 1878.—*Abilene Chronicle*, February 1, 1878.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-seventh annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 20, 1942.

The annual meeting of the directors was called to order by Vice-President Fred W. Brinkerhoff at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 20, 1942

It might be supposed that the Historical Society can do little to serve the nation in time of war. Compared with some departments of the state this of course is true. But in the ten months since Pearl Harbor the Society's records have proved of value in many ways.

Most important was the assistance given to persons born in Kansas who were seeking evidence of place and date of birth. These were nearly all applicants for war jobs where proofs of American birth are required. Copies of such records go directly to the factories or are used by the individuals in securing birth certificates. The Society holds the original records compiled by state census takers from 1865 to 1925. Most names can be found in these statistical rolls but occasionally proofs come from old newspapers, church records and school records. During the year 9,391 persons were supplied with this information. Part of the time it was necessary to transfer several workers from other departments to meet the demand.

One member of the staff, Ed. Langsdorf, formerly a newspaper clerk, is now at Fort Sill and will soon receive a commission. Another, Marylois Moberg, is now employed at the Eudora munitions plant. The Society in other ways has had a small part in the war effort. Suggestions requested by the War Department have been used in naming army camps and air bases. Similar research has helped military organizations to choose shields and mottoes. Workers on a WPA war information project are searching all newspapers received by the Society for certain war and civilian defense data. The library is making a special collection of material about Kansas and the war. Publications from army and navy bases and defense plants are being received and hundreds of clippings relating to war activities are being preserved. Already this record contains many stories about members of the armed forces and civilians who have received recognition for outstanding service. Information on the conversion of peace-time industries to war factories and on the development of new war industries is being compiled. The library regularly receives hundreds of government documents dealing with the war. These include publications on selective service, war production, price control, housing in defense areas, rationing, civilian defense, blackouts, salvage and scrap drives, air-raid safety and aviation, etc.

The museum with scores of war relics on display is popular with soldiers and visiting relatives of men at the bomber base. The Billard airplane of 1912 is a principal attraction. It is not uncommon to hear a pilot or bombardier,

trained to fight in the stratosphere against the modern arms of the axis, say to another, "Imagine sitting out there in the open air in that crate!" Other pieces that appeal to ex-service men are the gun collection, including the Gatling gun, the relics of World War I, and a bit of fabric from a Japanese dive bomber which was shot down at Pearl Harbor.

It may also be mentioned in connection with the war that the secretary of the Society has for the past ten months been serving as chairman of the Kansas Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Resources. And a less cultural but perhaps more practical contribution was the collection of over two tons of scrap metal for the local drive last week.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President Charles H. Browne reappointed Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and Milton R. McLean to the executive committee. The members holding over were John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard. Since last year's meeting three outstanding members of the board of directors have died. They are Tom McNeal of Topeka, one of the best known and best loved men in Kansas; John C. Nicholson of Newton, a pioneer in the good roads program of the state; and Charles E. Beeks of Baldwin, a long-time friend of the Society. In the death of Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, a member of the staff for thirty years, the Society lost an archivist whose work was of inestimable value to the state.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next biennium were filed with the state budget director in September.

For the Historical Society: Two additional cataloguers were requested. An increase of \$500 a year was asked for the book fund.

For Old Shawnee Mission: A special appropriation four years ago provided for the restoration of the north building and the opening of fifteen new rooms to the public. The one regular employee cannot show the thousands of visitors over the buildings and grounds seven days a week and still have time to keep them clean and presentable. It was asked that the present contingent fund of \$1,000 a year be increased to \$2,250 a year.

LIBRARY

During the year more than 2,600 persons did research in the library. Nearly half of these were working on Kansas subjects. More than 800 received help in genealogical research and 150 packages were sent out by mail from the loan file on Kansas subjects. Many other requests were answered by letters.

Several recent Kansas books and genealogical works have been received as gifts from the authors. Typed volumes of Kansas marriage records, cemetery records, church records and miscellaneous genealogical material have been given by several chapters of the D. A. R. The Daughters of Colonial Wars, Daughters of Founders and Patriots and Daughters of the American Colonists have donated their lineage books, which are of great value in genealogical work. Many duplicate Kansas books were received, some of which will be preserved for future use in the library and some for lending.

An important addition in the field of Western Americana was the purchase of microfilm copies of ninety-one rare and valuable works listed in *The Plains*

and the Rockies; A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865, by Henry R. Wagner, Revised and Extended by Charles L. Camp, 1937. This bibliography contains 428 entries of which 210 are already in the library in printed form. The microfilms add items at a nominal price (\$107.74) which could not be purchased on account of their rarity.

Current newspaper clippings average about 350 a month. Of these approximately 40 percent are on war and defense. This does not include old clippings which have come in from different sources and total several hundred during the year, nor anniversary editions. WPA employees have mounted broadsides, remounted old clippings and repaired books and pamphlets. Many folded maps which had been worn and torn in the folds have been removed from books, mounted and laid flat and will now last for many years.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the past year 796 pictures were classified, catalogued and added to the picture collection. Four hundred thirty-five of these were the gift of the Kansas Emergency Relief Committee, and 162 were presented by the Topeka *State Journal*.

STATE ARCHIVES

During the year a number of state departments took advantage of the archives law and turned approximately half a million pieces of manuscript records over to the Society. An exact count of course was impossible, but the accessions were estimated as follows: Secretary of state, 33,735; state auditor, 16,000; state board of agriculture, 2,965; bank commissioner, 319,500; livestock sanitary commissioner, 60,000. Of these 393 were bound volumes.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Twenty-five manuscript volumes and 1,208 individual manuscripts were received during the year. Also recently received and not yet accessioned was a collection from Joseph L. Bristow of Salina, U.S. senator from Kansas from 1909 to 1915. This collection includes voluminous files of official correspondence and will be more fully reported next year.

Another large accession was a group of Isaac T. Goodnow papers from the Harriet Parkerson estate, supplementing those previously received (see reports for 1938, 1940 and 1941). Among the 632 letters and 78 documents are records relating to the early days of Manhattan and Kansas State College.

Clyde Schenck presented a collection of papers which included 67 letters by Lewis Stafford, lieutenant, later captain, in the First Kansas infantry. Written between March, 1861, and January, 1863 (Stafford was killed January 31, 1863), they give a detailed picture of a soldier's Civil War experiences.

To the Samuel C. Pomeroy collection were added twelve Pomeroy letters (1857-1862), and twenty-three documents illustrating Pomeroy's business dealings with Thaddeus and Theodore Hyatt.

Mrs. E. W. Thiele gave the Society a group of G. W. Hollenberg papers. The larger part of the collection consists of deeds, redemption certificates and land patents. Hollenberg, who died in 1874, was an early-day settler in Washington county. His ranch house, still standing, was a Pony Express station in 1860 and 1861.

A small group of the business papers of Hiram P. Dillon was acquired. They deal mainly with western Kansas railroad and town-site matters.

From Malcolm S. Smith the Society received Henry J. Shombre's diary of an overland journey to California in 1849. Shombre later came to Kansas and was killed during a border clash near Lecompton in 1856.

Judge J. C. Ruppenthal presented a large number of manuscripts, including legal records of the twenty-third judicial district and other records of the counties within that district.

Records of the First and Second United Presbyterian churches of Topeka from 1870 to 1919 were received in gifts from Mrs. W. W. Peyton and Maj. Raymond F. Montgomery.

F. J. Atwood, retired Concordia banker, gave the Society his manuscript autobiography "Reminiscences of an Octogenarian."

Business papers (1865-1871) of the firm of Lescher & Melville, Lawrence contractors, were given by Mrs. Lucius E. Eckles. The collection consists of one box of manuscripts and five account books.

Minutes of Dragoon Grange, No. 331, Osage county, from 1873 to 1877, a small manuscript volume, was received from Mrs. Laura Hopkins.

Another donation of interest came from Gerald Gribble, who gave G. M. Hoover's Dodge City saloon account book, covering the period April, 1883-April, 1885.

Gifts were also received from the following during the year: Mrs. Herbert Balmer, Dr. D. R. Braden, Dr. Edward Bumgardner, Lee H. Cornell, Hattie Bell Evarts, Edward Thomas Fay, Palmer W. Foley, Mrs. Leslie C. Frye, Alma E. Grass, Historical Records Survey of Kansas, Jayhawker Club, Mrs. Bertram W. Maxwell, Wm. Alexander Miller, Judge Karl Miller, J. R. Moll, Theo. W. Morse, Jennie Small Owen, A. W. Parkhurst, Ellen G. Parkhurst, Paul Pinet, Ruth Robson, Mrs. A. B. Seelye, Mrs. Daisy Shirley Sims, F. C. Smart, Mrs. B. W. Swift, Topeka *State Journal*, Mrs. Mattie Wallace, Dr. L. L. Waters, Dr. John W. Wayland, William Allen White.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

The demand for census records was more than four times that of last year. Patrons lined up day after day awaiting the services of three, four and sometimes six employees. As mentioned before, this department issued 9,391 census certificates. The work of indexing the census records was continued by WPA workers. This year a name index for the 1905 records of Topeka and the 1915 records of Kansas City, Leavenworth and Wichita was completed, approximating 211,000 names.

During the year 10,548 patrons were registered, double the number of last year. Nearly 10,000 bound newspaper volumes and 28,282 loose issues were consulted. In addition there was a great increase in daily requests by mail for census certificates, obituaries and copies of legal documents found in the records and newspapers. To find shelf room for the ever increasing number of newspapers it became necessary to shift and rearrange the 48,000 volumes of Kansas papers.

The 1942 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in July. It shows the issues of 729 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. Of these, 58 are dailies, 12 semiweeklies, 466 weeklies, 26 fortnightlies, one trimonthly, 12 semimonthlies, 85 monthlies, 9 bimonthlies, 24 quarter-

lies, 31 occasinals, 2 semiannuals and 3 annuals, coming from the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 729 publications, 157 are listed republican, 36 democratic and 272 independent in politics; 93 are school or college, 29 religious, 25 fraternal, 8 labor, 13 local and 96 miscellaneous.

On January 1, 1942, the Society's collection contained 48,209 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, in addition to more than 10,000 volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1942.

The year's accessions have been valuable. The most important contribution was made by Dan R. Anthony, editor and publisher of the Leavenworth *Times*. It comprised 12 volumes of the Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, September 18, 1862 (Vol. I, No. 1), to March 11, 1871 [broken file]; 11 volumes of the Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, April 3, 1868, to December 27, 1873; three volumes of the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 29 to December 31, 1862, January 1 to June 30, 1868; three volumes of the Leavenworth (Weekly) *Conservative*, January 2 to December 25, 1862, October 25, 1866, to October 17, 1867, October 15, 1868, to September 14, 1871; one volume of the *Daily Leavenworth Herald*, January 27 to June 27, 1861; one volume of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, New York City, N. Y., January 23, 1858, to January 21, 1860; eight volumes of the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 20, 1859, to June 30, 1865 [broken file] and one volume of the Leavenworth *Daily Tribune*, October 22, 1927, to January 20, 1928. Mrs. A. M. Harvey, headquarters secretary of the Spanish American War Veterans, Topeka, contributed 10 volumes of the *National Tribune*, Washington, D. C., January 2, 1930, to December 28, 1939; the Kansas State Library, Topeka, gave two volumes of *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, August 23, 1890, to June 25, 1892; George A. Root, Topeka, gave miscellaneous issues and one volume of the Waterville *Telegraph*, January 1, 1870 (Vol. I, No. 1), to January 13, 1872; C. M. Baker, librarian of the University of Kansas, gave 17 issues of the Parsons *Surprise*, February 28 to August 8, 1874; Alex. Jacob Haas, Holton, gave the Society his subscription and file of *The Sporting News*, St. Louis, Mo., June 5, 1930, to September 2, 1942. Single issues of a miscellaneous character were donated by J. O. Faulkner, Manhattan; Harry S. Fearing, Garnett; L. S. Webb, Atwood; Marianne Kittell, Dorothy McKenzie and Mrs. Francis E. Stone of Topeka; Lowell Lawrence and Adele C. Van Horn of Kansas City, Mo., and George Remsburg of California.

Thirty-eight reels of newspaper film were acquired during the year. Sixteen cover issues of the Leavenworth (Weekly) *Times*, March 7, 1857-October 29, 1859, and the *Daily Times*, January 25, 1859-November 2, 1867. Until Dan Anthony, publisher of the *Times*, lent his office files, the Society had only scattered issues dated before 1868. These were combined with issues held by the Library of Congress. The entire file, when ready for filming, numbered more than 10,000 pages. Since filming costs would have approximated \$325 had the Society borne the entire expense, several leading libraries and historical societies were asked to coöperate. Orders for ten positive copies were received and the cost was reduced to \$135 for each subscriber. The collection was filmed by the Photoduplication Service of the Library of Congress. Other similar filming projects instituted by the Society covered the first Marion county newspapers, *The Western News*, *The Western Giant*, and the *Marion County Record*, of Marion, dated from September 14, 1870-November 17, 1876,

lent by Wallis Hoch, present editor of the *Record*; *The Kansas Weekly Herald*, of Leavenworth, January 9, 1858-August 3, 1861, a combination of issues held by the Library of Congress and the Historical Society, and *The Nemaha Courier*, Seneca, November 14, 1863-November 23, 1865, a file borrowed from the New York Historical Society. The following out-of-state newspaper film was purchased: The weekly *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, November 20, 1819-November 17, 1868, the St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette*, April 25, 1845-October 4, 1854, and the *Commercial Cycle*, January 5, 1855-December 5, 1856.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year ending July 1, 1942, was 30,189. This is a decrease from the preceding year and is partly due to the fact that the elevator was out of service for three weeks while the building was being cut over to alternating current.

There were 67 accessions. Among the most interesting was a large camera which Frederick Funston carried on an exploring expedition to Alaska in 1893. The donor was his sister, Mrs. F. A. Eckdall of Emporia. Two relics of the present war are pieces of Japanese paper money from the battlefield of Bataan in the Philippines and a piece of fabric from a Japanese dive bomber shot down at Pearl Harbor. The Japanese money was the gift of E. Criss, a sergeant in the 20th Kansas infantry in the Spanish-American War. The airplane fabric was presented by C. B. Crosby of Topeka who received it from his son-in-law Lt. M. T. Whittier. Lieutenant Whittier served on the aircraft carrier *Lexington* and has been awarded a Navy Cross.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for extended research: *Biography*: William A. Phillips; Charles R. Jennison; Gov. James W. Denver; William Allen White and his relation to Progressivism; Champ Clark; Theodore Roosevelt. *County and town history*: Early history of Emporia; history of Jackson county, 1855-1880; socio-historical study of German-Russian settlements in Ellis county; disorganization of Garfield county; history of Walnut City. *Education*: Development of education in Wabaunsee county schools; Kansas State School for the Blind; comparative study of art departments in the state colleges of Kansas; Presbyterian education in Kansas. *General*: The Populist party; colonial Pennsylvania; economic geography of La Crosse area; New England rural life as depicted by John Greenleaf Whittier; history of southeastern Missouri; history of South America, Mexico, Central America and the Indies; territorial Lawrence as the setting for a historical novel; history of immigration; Kansas Populist speakers; cultural history of the Middle West; literary survey of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*; history of football at Midland College, Atchison; Indians; adaptation of population and agriculture to Prairie-Plains environment; relationship of newspaper crusades to the magazine muck-raking movement; "Home on the Range"; early orphan asylums in

Kansas; Eugene Fitch Ware and the "Washerwoman's Song"; history of the Pottawatomie Indians.

ACCESSIONS

July 1, 1941, to June 30, 1942

Library:	
Books	2,645
Pamphlets	4,501
Magazines (bound volumes)	302
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	431,807
Manuscript volumes	393
Manuscript maps	None
Private Manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	1,208
Volumes	25
Printed maps, atlases and charts	72
Newspapers (bound volumes)	835
Pictures	796
Museum objects	67
TOTAL ACCESSIONS, JUNE 30, 1942	
Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	405,656
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,507,781
Manuscript volumes (archives)	28,290
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts	11,568
Pictures	20,428
Museum objects	33,115

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its eleventh year, ten volumes already having been published. Much of the credit for the high standard the magazine has achieved among the state historical magazines of the country should go to Dr. James C. Malin, associate editor, who is professor of history at Kansas University. Doctor Malin's criticisms of articles submitted is invaluable. The *Quarterly* is widely quoted by the newspapers of the state and is used in many schools.

FEDERAL WORK PROJECTS

WPA projects sponsored by the Society for work in the building have employed an average of eighteen persons five days a week. The staff has supervised the work, which is mentioned in departmental reports. Federal expenditures for the year from October 7, 1941, to October 8, 1942, were \$13,875.09 for salaries. The Society's contribution for the same period was approximately \$300 for materials.

The Historical Records Survey, sponsored by the Society, issued inventories for Gove and Morris counties during the year. These brought the total to fourteen completed volumes before the work was suspended in July, 1942. In addition to the published work, the survey inventoried and partially inventoried the archives of nearly all counties in the state; listed the imprints of most colleges and the larger city libraries; published a guide to vital statistics records of Kansas and published eleven volumes of listings and descriptions of federal records in the state. The unpublished material was deposited with the Historical Society.

KANSAS HISTORICAL MARKERS

At the last annual meeting it was reported that fifty-six texts for highway markers had been turned over to the highway commission. One more was written, making a total of fifty-seven before the highway commission project was discontinued for the duration of the war. All these signs are now in place with the exception of those for Rummymede, Fort Harker and Coronado.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

The legislature of 1939 appropriated \$15,000 for the restoration of the north building. As reported last year, the state architect, Roy W. Stookey, and his assistant, Charles Marshall, took a personal interest in the work, which was completed a year ago last winter. The interior decoration of the building was done under the supervision of George Dovel, a graduate of the Kansas City Art Institute. This was completed last spring. Fifteen rooms, furnished as of 1845-1850, were formally opened to the public June 14, 1942. Pictures of this building and of a number of the rooms appear in the November *Quarterly*.

A landscaping plan for the grounds around the north building was prepared by Ray V. Murphy of Manhattan. Last spring numerous plantings of native trees and shrubs were made under Mr. Murphy's direction. During the year minor repairs were made on the other buildings. The grounds are being constantly improved by grading and the removal of stone.

The Society is indebted to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society and to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of 1812 and the Shawnee Mission Garden Club for their continued coöperation at the mission. The number of visitors increases each year. Harry A. Hardy, caretaker at the mission, and his wife, Kate Hardy, deserve special mention for the manner in which the buildings and grounds are maintained.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

Since travel through Fort Riley on U.S. highway 40 was detoured the number of visitors at the old capitol building has fallen to a new low. Many soldiers and members of their families, however, continue to visit the grounds. Minor repairs have been made on the building, and the north part of the grounds was regraded. New shrubbery will be set out in the spring.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to them.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Robert Taft moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Mrs. Mary Embree.

Vice-President Brinkerhoff then called for the report of the treas-

urer, Mrs. Lela Barnes. The report, based on the audit of the state accountant, follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT

September 1, 1941, to August 31, 1942

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, September 1, 1941:

Cash	\$1,236.97
Treasury bonds (par value \$3,500).....	3,441.81
	<u> </u>
	\$4,678.78

Receipts:

Memberships	313.10
Bond interest	146.25
Refund for postage.....	397.34
Publications	30.00
Postage .....	.75
	<u> </u>
	887.44
	<u> </u>
	\$5,566.22

Disbursements

Balance, August 31, 1942:

Cash	1,358.31
Treasury bonds (par value \$3,500).....	3,441.81
	<u> </u>
	4,800.12
	<u> </u>
	\$5,566.22

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, September 1, 1941.....	\$ 80.29
Treasury bonds	950.00
	<u> </u>
	\$1,030.29

Interest received:

Bond interest	27.78
Savings account .....	.50
	<u> </u>
	28.28
	<u> </u>
	\$1,058.57

Disbursements, books

Balance, August 31, 1942:

Cash	97.17
Treasury bonds	950.00
	<u> </u>
	1,047.17
	<u> </u>
	\$1,058.57

THE ANNUAL MEETING

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JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, September 1, 1941	\$ 27.56
Treasury bonds	500.00
	<u>\$ 527.56</u>

Interest received:

Bond interest	\$ 13.89
Savings account .....	.38
	<u>14.27</u>
	<u>\$ 541.83</u>

Disbursements, books

22.50

Balance, August 31, 1942:

Cash	19.33
Treasury bonds	500.00
	<u>519.33</u>
	<u>\$ 541.83</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a United States treasury bond in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. It is not a statement of the appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society. These disbursements are made not by the treasurer of the Society, but by the state auditor. For the year ending June 31, 1942, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$29,670; Old Shawnee Mission, \$2,000; First Capitol of Kansas, \$750.

On motion of Mrs. A. M. Harvey, seconded by James C. Malin, the report was accepted.

The report of the executive committee on the audit by the state accountant of the funds of the Society was called for and read by the secretary.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 16, 1942.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Old Shawnee Mission from September 1, 1941, to August 31, 1942, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, Chairman.

Charles M. Correll moved that the report be accepted, seconded by James C. Malin.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by the secretary:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 16, 1942.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: W. E. Stanley, Wichita, president; F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, first vice-president; Ralph R. Price, Manhattan, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman*,

MRS. BENNETT R. WHEELER,

MRS. A. M. HARVEY,

MILTON R. McLEAN.

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned until the annual meeting of the Society at 2 p. m.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, Col. Charles H. Browne.

The annual address by Colonel Browne, "Kansas and Kansans in the Present War," was delivered extemporaneously and because it dealt largely with military matters of semi-confidential character is not presented here.

Following the president's address, Charles C. Hoge, Olathe, presented the plaque of Gov. John P. St. John for the St. John Memorial Association of Olathe and Pres. Charles H. Browne accepted it on behalf of the Kansas State Historical Society. Mr. Hoge then read a tribute to Governor St. John.

Robert Taft of the University of Kansas spoke briefly on a display of sketches and letters of William J. Hays. Hays was a painter of the middle 1800's and the collection deals with a trip up the Missouri river in 1860.

The report of the committee on nominations for directors was then called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 16, 1942.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recom-

mendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1945:

Bailey, Roy C., Salina.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Bonebrake, Fred "B.", Topeka.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.	Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Hardesty, Mrs. Frank, Merriam.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.	

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman*,
MRS. BENNETT R. WHEELER,
MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
MILTON R. MCLEAN.

By unanimous vote of the members of the Society the report of the committee was accepted and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending October, 1945.

Reports of other societies were called for. Charles M. Correll responded briefly for the Riley County Historical Society and Mrs. X. O. Meyer read the report of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society. Mrs. J. W. Quarrier of Mission introduced her small daughter, Camille Quarrier, who was baptized in the newly organized Old Mission Parish Methodist Church. This church plans to build on a plot of ground that was once part of the Old Shawnee Mission property.

There being no further business the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by President Browne. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: W. E. Stanley, Wichita, president; Fred Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, first vice-president; Ralph R. Price, Manhattan, second vice president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

**DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF
OCTOBER, 1942**

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1943

Austin, E. A., Topeka.	Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.	Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove.	Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.	Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.	Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.	Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.	Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.	Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.	Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	Uhl, L. C., Jr., Smith Center.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.	Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.	Wark, George H., Caney.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.	Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka.
Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.	Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
	Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1944

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.	Murdock, Victor, Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Chandler, C. Q., Wichita.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.	Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.	Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.	Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.	White, William Allen, Emporia.
Malin, James C., Lawrence.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1945

Bailey, Roy C., Salina.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.	Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Hardesty, Mrs. Frank, Merriam.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Trembley, W. B., Kansas City.
Hauke, Frank, Council Grove.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.	

Bypaths of Kansas History

TRAVELING IN KANSAS WITH HORACE GREELEY

From *The Kansas News*, Emporia, July 16, 1859.

A correspondent of the Boston *Journal* [Albert D. Richardson] who traveled to Pike's Peak with Mr. Greeley [on the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express in 1859], writes from Station 15 [near present Norton] as follows:

An admirable traveling companion is Mr. Greeley, with an inexhaustible fund of humorous experience and mirthful anecdote, a philosophy that neither frets nor grumbles at annoyances, and an always benignant countenance, radiant with a clear conscience, a sound digestion, and abundance of the milk of human kindness. Occasionally when crossing rivulets on foot, he sinks in mire to the knees, but maintains his serenity undisturbed. In amusing the marvelous little "Ida," he shames her mother altogether in the use of "baby talk," and other seductive arts to captivate infant affections. Today we met a party of returning Ohio emigrants, who had mired their wagon in a slough, from which their weary cattle were unable to extricate it. He gave a few common sense directions about using the spade, and then took hold of the lever and pried at the wheel with a vast deal of vim. Meanwhile, one of the emigrants, having learned something of his profession, asked:

"What New York paper are you connected with, Sir?"

"The *Tribune*."

"Oh, yes; you're with Greeley, are you?"

"Yes, Sir," was the dry reply, the editor meanwhile tugging away like an Irish laborer. Just as the wheel was extricated, some one came along who recognized the old white coat, and made its owner known to the crowd. I think I never saw men more amazed.

Almost every train we meet contains some one who recognizes him, and the emigrants flock around and scrutinize him as if he were the seventh wonder of the world. But yesterday, on the outskirts of a crowd, a rather stolid looking man asked of me:

"Stranger, is that John Greeley those fellows are talking so much about?"

"No, Sir, that's Horace."

"Horace—Horace Greeley—who is he?"

"Editor of the *Tribune*."

"Which?"

"Editor of the New York *Tribune*."

"What's that?"

"A newspaper published in New York."

"No! I never heard of it before."

"My friend," asked I, "where were you raised?"

"In Missouri."

The explanation was satisfactory!

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The Oswego *Independent* resumed publication of R. B. Williams' articles entitled "Pioneer Days" in its issues of August 14, 28, September 4, 11, 18, 25, October 2, 9, 30, November 13 and December 25, 1942.

Included among articles on Kansas history published in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "Good Fighters and Storytellers Among Johnson County Settlers [Annual Reunion of Old Families at Olathe]," by Jessie Hodges, September 5, 1942; "Boot Hill Was a Burying Ground for a Period of Only Six Years," by Paul I. Wellman, October 13; "Ft. Leavenworth's Polishing Class Is Close to Actual Battle Fronts," by Sigrid Arne, November 13; "The Silent Partner [William Bradford Waddell] Who Made History and Lost Fortunes on the Great Plains," by Paul I. Wellman, November 22, and "Soldiers in South Seas and Africa Cross the Trail of the Johnsons [Osa and Martin]," by Dwight Pennington, November 26.

The following Kansas historical subjects were discussed by Victor Murdock in his column in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* in recent months: "Memory of a Breakfast on Prairie Frontier in the Winter of 1871," September 7, 1942; "One Annual Happening in the Life of Wichita [Harvest Hands Attracted by the Wheat] Is Now Only a Memory," September 11; "How Prairies Contract [Visual Changes Wrought by Aviation] From Period to Period One of Wonders of West," September 12; "Many Workers in a Crew Serving Threshing-Machine in the Pioneer Days Here," September 14; "When a Passenger Train, No. 403 of Santa Fe System, Ran Red Light With Dash," September 15; "Cherokee Outlet Opened Forty-nine Years Ago; Last of the Frontiers," September 16; "First Big Plane Landed in Wichita, Nov. 12, 1926, and Brought a Vision," September 17; "Bible of Delaware Chief, Rev. Charles Journeycake, Is Preserved in Wichita," September 21; "One Arrival in Wichita [Joe Irwin's Impressive Bull Train] Caused a Stir in Town in the Summer of 1870," September 29; "Ranchman of Old Days Who Was a Line Rider [Watched Over Fences] a Resident of Wichita," October 1; "Refusal of Some Men to Take Shot at Buffalo Part of Prairie Picture," October 16; "Legend of the Origin of a Drink of Seminoles

That Is Known as Abuska," October 17; "Early Belief in Bluestem Accredited It as Herald of Oncoming Civilization," October 30; "Part of Wichita Story Found in the Sidewalks Used in Various Eras," October 31; "When L. M. Crawford, Wichita, Introduced Famous Opera to the People of United States," November 2; "Vision of the Pioneers Which Made the Prairies Most Fascinating Lure," November 3; "Changes That Came About in the First Fifteen Years After Settlement Here," November 6; "Travelers on Schedule First Appeared Here as Drivers of Stages," November 11; "Striking Feature of Life in Early Days of Wichita an Interest in Mining," November 12; "Dried Buffalo Meat Here Was Quoted on the Market in 1878 Ten Cents a Pound," November 13; "Early Day Wagon Trip From Abilene Southward as Pioneer Remembers It," November 23; "Most Brilliant Chapter in History of Farming Staged on the Prairies," November 24; "Tracing the First Trip Made by [the David L.] Payne Boomers to the North Canadian," December 2; "Contrast in the Winters of the Early Days Here and Those of the Present," December 3; "Optimism of Pioneers in This City and County During Dreadful Winter [of 1874-1875]," December 4; "Hints on Oil Treasure Offered Kansas People Through a Long Period," December 5; "Interesting Data on Oil in Territorial Kansas by Professor Ver Wiebe," December 11; "Law Side of Contention Made by David L. Payne About Oklahoma Lands," December 12; "His [Will Sexton's] Experience Proves Distances Here Were Less in the Very Early Days," December 14; "Time on Frontier Here When Sunflower Stalks and Hay Served as Fuel," December 18; "When Mail to Coffeeechee [or Cofachique] in Kansas Got Through Despite a Balky Horse," December 21; "Christmas in Wichita When City Was Cluster of Log Cabins on Prairie," December 22; "Contrasts Christmas Time Shown Seventy Years Ago in a Frontier Wichita," December 23; "One Imposing Cavalcade Headed South Overland Had Distinguished Party [Senatorial Investigating Committee]," December 28, and "S. O. S. Wichita Sent Out For Flouring Mill Help in the Summer of 1873," December 29.

The Kirwin *Kansan* issued a special edition October 1, 1942, announcing the Kirwin old settlers' reunion. Included among several short historical articles were: "Kirwin's First Band," "The First Postmaster at Kirwin," and "Kirwin History." Several views of sod houses were featured with a brief description of how they were built, and a "Kirwin Street Scene 1879" was pictured on the front page.

Kansas Historical Notes

At the annual meeting of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society of Johnson county held September 28, 1942, the following officers were elected: Mrs. Clifton Shepard, Merriam, president; Mrs. C. V. Scoville, Shawnee, vice-president; Mrs. Percy L. Miller, Overland Park, recording secretary; Mrs. Frank M. Carroll, Merriam, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Frank M. Lyle, Westwood View, treasurer; Mrs. Wm. F. Brazier, 5005 Maple Lane, curator; Mrs. Carl Harder, Merriam, historian, and Mrs. Walter B. Gresham, parliamentarian.

The annual business meeting of the Hodgeman County Historical Society was held at Hodgeman October 16, 1942. Newly elected officers are L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. O. W. Lynam, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary; Mrs. O. L. Teed, treasurer, and Mrs. Margaret Raser, historian and chairman of the program committee. The directors are Mrs. Leigh Newport, Lee Jackson, L. W. Hubbell, S. H. Pitts, Mrs. O. L. Teed, E. W. Harlan, L. H. Raser and Mrs. O. W. Lynam.

New officers of the Riley County Historical Society, elected at the annual meeting held at Manhattan October 17, 1942, are F. R. Smith, president; Mrs. F. F. Harrop, vice-president; Mrs. Medora H. Flick, secretary; Mrs. Caroline A. Smith, treasurer; Mr. Smith, Gertrude B. Failyer, Mrs. Flick, S. C. Charlson, Mrs. Harrop, Walter McKeen, Mrs. L. F. Payne, Joe Haines and Mrs. Smith, directors. Visitors from nearly every state have shown interest in the cabin-museum maintained by the society. F. I. Burt is the custodian.

Jesse W. Greenleaf was elected president of the Kiowa County Historical Society at the annual meeting held in connection with the pioneers' party at Greensburg October 20, 1942. Other officers are Bert Barnes of Mullinville, Frank Brown of Haviland, and Mrs. Sam Booth of Belvidere, vice-presidents; Mrs. Chas. T. Johnson of Greensburg, treasurer, and Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver of Mullinville, secretary.

The Clark county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society has completed Volume III of its *Notes on Early Clark County, Kansas*. The booklet, dated from September, 1941, to August, 1942,

consists of reprints of the reports of the chapter's annual meeting and of historical articles published in *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland. An index fills eight of the 96 pages. The volumes are edited by Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder and Mrs. Melville Campbell Harper and are published by the *Clipper*. The annual meeting for 1942 was held at Ashland on November 28. Newly elected officers are Mrs. T. T. Smith, president; Mrs. Henry Mull, vice-president; W. H. Shattuck, honorary first vice-president; Chas. McCasland, honorary second vice-president. Other officers were reelected. The chapter has voted honorary life memberships to every Clark countian who enters the armed forces.

Dr. James F. Price, secretary-director of the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, gave the featured address at the annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas in Topeka January 28, 1943. He spoke on "Creating a Balanced Economy in Kansas." Newly elected officers of the Native Daughters are Mrs. George L. McClenney, Topeka, president; Mrs. F. S. Hawes, Russell, vice-president; Mrs. W. H. von der Heiden, Newton, secretary, and Mrs. John C. Nelson, Topeka, treasurer. Mrs. Charles H. Benson, Topeka, was the retiring president. Officers of the Native Sons are W. M. Richards, Emporia, president; Richard Allen, Topeka, vice-president; Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary, and Frank "Chief" Haucke, Council Grove, treasurer. Glenn Archer, Topeka, was the retiring president of the Native Sons.

The Lyon county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society had its annual membership meeting in the chapter's museum at Emporia January 30, 1943. The newly elected officers are George R. R. Pflaum, president; Mrs. Robert L. Jones, vice-president, and John A. Roberts, second vice-president. Reelected officers are J. S. Langley, treasurer, E. C. Ryan, secretary, and Mrs. Fanny Randolph Vickery, Mrs. Lulu Purdy Gilson and Lucina Jones, historians. Directors elected for three-year terms are W. A. White, Ethel Maffey, Mrs. Mary Davis, Margaret Lowe and Mrs. Dollie Flynn Sheets. Other directors are Richard Langley, Park Morse, Dr. O. J. Corbett, Alice Evans Snyder, Robert D. Lumley, Clarence Paine, Mrs. Mary Evans McKinney, Tom Price and Catherine H. Jones. Harry A. Wayman was the retiring president. The society has over 300 members and maintains a museum which is open to the public from 2:30 to 4:30 p. m. on Saturdays.

At the annual meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society at Pittsburg February 12, 1943, the following officers were re-elected: Ralph H. Smith, Pittsburg, president; H. B. Price, Cherokee, first vice-president; Mrs. Alice Gregg, McCune, second vice-president; Ralph J. Shideler, Girard, recording secretary; Mrs. O. P. Dellinger, Pittsburg, corresponding secretary; Mrs. George Elliott, Pittsburg, treasurer, and H. W. Shideler, Girard, Mrs. L. H. Dunton, Arcadia, and Mrs. J. U. Massey, Pittsburg, directors for three years. The organization plans to gather information on Crawford county citizens who go into the armed services, and their names will be listed on special honor rolls for public display. Records of civilian defense work done by the various boards and organizations will also be kept.

The three diocesan Catholic newspapers in Kansas are being preserved by the Kansas Catholic Historical Society. The organization also collects parish records and assists in correcting and editing parish histories. Officers of the society are W. W. Graves, St. Paul, president; Rev. Wm. Schaefers, Wichita, vice-president; Angelus Lingenfelser, Atchison, secretary, and Edmund Pusch, Atchison, treasurer. The directors are Rev. George Towle, Leavenworth; Rev. Edwin Dorzweiler, Victoria; Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, Leavenworth; Sister Regina Baska, Atchison; Sister Mary Evangeline Thomas, Salina; William Hayes, Atchison, and Julia Maguire, Topeka.

John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six is the title of a new 794-page book by Dr. James C. Malin, associate editor of this magazine and professor of American history at the University of Kansas. The work, the result of many years of painstaking research by Doctor Malin, was published by the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

The Philosophical Society has printed the following description of the book and its importance:

"This book, by a well known American historian, is a critical study of the problem of the John Brown legend, one of the major folk stories of the American people. It is therefore not a biography of John Brown but a penetrating analysis of old and new historical evidence throwing a brilliant searchlight on Brown's character and his rôle in the Antislavery movement. It has its origins largely in the Kansas troubles of 1856 which contributed so much to the national folklore associated with the name of John Brown."

"Part One reviews what the contemporary world knew of John Brown and Kansas. Part Two traces the evolution of the Kansas phase of the national hero-martyr legend about Kansas. Part Three is a restudy of the Kansas troubles in the light of wholly new manuscript materials, and the revaluation of the rôle of John Brown.

"In the sense that the legend focused around the Kansas phase of Brown's career, the work is an intensive study in local history, interesting in its own right, but given a peculiar importance because of its critical bearing upon national history. From the standpoint of a study in historiography and the evolution of the John Brown legend, it is unique, and should be of interest to students of literature and to sociologists as well as to historians. It is based upon the largest and most significant body of new manuscript materials relating to John Brown and the amazing legend associated with his name and personality that has become available in over half a century. It is recognized by students and specialists as the only major scholarly contribution to the subject in this generation."

The early history of oil and gas production in Kansas was briefly reviewed in Gerald Forbes' *Flush Production; The Epic of Oil in the Gulf-Southwest* (253 pp.), published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, October 24, 1942. Mr. Forbes mentioned early drilling in Miami county (1860, 1861, 1873, 1882 and 1889), in Montgomery county (in the 1880's), and at Neodesha in Wilson county (1892). The latter pool, he said, "caused the first Kansas conservation law" when the legislature of 1891 "required the use of casing to prevent the intrusion of water into the oil-bearing formations." The first proration in the state "occurred in 1929 when the prolific Ritz-Canton, Greenwich, and Voshell pools were discovered." A "Chronological Table of Kansas Oil Pools, 1915-'30," reported discovery of the El Dorado, Butler county pool, in 1917; Rainbow Bend, Cowley county, 1923; Gorham, Russell county, 1926; Ritz-Canton and Voshell, McPherson county pools, 1929, and Hugoton (gas), Stevens county, in 1930.

Dr. Carl Coke Rister's biography of David L. Payne was published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, December 2, 1942. The new book, of 245 pages, is titled *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers*. From Payne's arrival in Kansas in 1857 to his death and burial in Wellington in 1884, he was identified with the history of this state. He served in Kansas regiments during the Civil War, and later in campaigns against the

Indians. Never able to settle down permanently, he attended two sessions of the legislature representing Doniphan and Sedgwick counties, and spent the latter part of his life attempting to lead settlers into "Oklahoma" territory prior to congressional action, and contrary to orders issued to United States troops to keep them out. Doctor Rister, who has done considerable research in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, is also author of *Southern Plainsmen* (1938) and *Border Captives* (1940), and is co-author of *Western America* (1941).

A booklet of 111 pages, entitled *Guide to Life and Literature of the Southwest*, by J. Frank Dobie, has recently been issued from the University of Texas Press of Austin. By "literature of the Southwest," Dobie meant "writings that interpret the region, whether they have been produced by the Southwest or not." And "the principal areas of the Southwest," he wrote, are "Arizona, New Mexico, most of Texas, some of Oklahoma and anything else north, south, east or west that anybody wants to bring in." Included among the division headings were: "How the Early Settlers Lived," "Women Pioneers," "Pioneer Doctors," "Stage Coaches, Freighting," "Pony Express," "Cowboys and Range Life," "Cowboy Songs and Other Ballads," and "Buffaloes and Buffalo Hunters."

The author catalogue of printed books of the Library of Congress, heretofore available only in a few of the larger research libraries, is now being published in book form by the lithoprint process, 18 cards to the page, in about 160 volumes of 640 pages each. The entire set, covering the Library of Congress catalogue to July 31, 1942, will cost about \$750. The publication was arranged by a committee of the Association of Research Libraries in coöperation with the Congressional Library. Among the subscribers are the following Kansas libraries: Kansas State College Library, Manhattan; The Abbey Library, St. Benedict's College, Atchison; the University of Kansas Library, Lawrence, and the Wichita City Library. For the present the Kansas State Historical Society, one of the few depository libraries filing the original cards, will continue as usual excepting that a new catalogue has been started for cards issued since July 31.

O. J. Rose's "Looking Back Over Fifty Years," mentioned in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* of November, 1942, page 417, has been added to and reprinted as a 75-page booklet commemorative of the golden wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Rose.



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The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854

LOUISE BARRY

INTRODUCTION

THE Kansas-Nebraska Act of May 30, 1854, providing for the settlement of Kansas territory on the "squatter-sovereignty" principle, was a triumph for Proslaveryism. In an effort to compete with the South in populating the new territory, Eli Thayer and other New England men founded the Emigrant Aid Company—an organization designed to promote Free-State emigration and make money for its incorporators. During the critical territorial years it was the most active and influential of the many societies, both Northern and Southern, which directed emigration to Kansas.

Numerous articles have been published on the history of the Emigrant Aid Company and its various activities.¹ But not much attention has been paid to the parties who came from New England and other Northern states under its auspices. The purpose of this article is to publish, insofar as possible, the names of the individuals in the six Emigrant Aid Company parties of 1854. Accompanying each roster is a sketch giving a summary of the available information relating to each party. Much of this material consists of excerpts from the emigrants' own statements.²

A brief statement of the aims and method of operation of the Emigrant Aid Company is a necessary preface to the rosters which follow. The company was neither a charitable nor a subsidizing organization. Though its officers were interested in making Kansas a free state they were also concerned in making profitable investments. In transporting emigrants to the West the company operated as a sort of travel agency. Parties were formed by advertising trips in Eastern newspapers. Blocks of tickets were purchased from railroad and steamboat lines at reduced rates and sold to the emigrants at cost. The company hired a conductor for each party except the first. Local agents were established in Kansas

1. Other articles on the Emigrant Aid Company published by the Historical Society are: Carruth, W. H., "The New England Emigrant Aid Company as an Investment Society," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VI, pp. 90-96; and four articles in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*—Johnson, Samuel A., "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," v. I, pp. 429-441; Hickman, Russell K., "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," v. IV, pp. 235-267; Johnson, Samuel A., "The Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Conflict," v. VI, pp. 21-33; Langsdorf, Edgar, "S. C. Pomeroy and the New England Emigrant Aid Company, 1854-1858," v. VII, pp. 227-245, 379-398.

2. Only the resources of the Society's manuscript, archival, library and newspaper collections have been used in this article. Probably much additional data could be found in the 1854 files of many New England newspapers, and in the manuscript collections of certain Eastern libraries.

to meet the groups of pioneers and advise them of the best lands available for settlement. Testifying before the special committee appointed to investigate troubles in the territory in 1856, Eli Thayer stated:

The company, in no instance, paid the passage of any emigrant. It made no conditions about the political opinion of the emigrants; no questions were asked of them, and persons from every State, and of every political opinion, would have enjoyed, and did enjoy, the same facilities. . . . The company furnished these emigrants with no articles of personal property, and never, directly or indirectly, furnished them with any arms or munitions of war of any kind, and never invested a dollar for any such purpose. . . .³

The Company claimed that some 750 individuals traveled to Kansas in its parties of 1854.⁴ The highest estimates in contemporaneous accounts total about 670, which is perhaps more nearly accurate. The names of 579 individuals appear on the rosters published here. It will be noted from the lists that Massachusetts emigrants were the most numerous in each company. Vermont was well represented in each group, and so was New Hampshire in all except the first two. There were a good many from Maine in the Third and Fourth companies; some from Connecticut in the Third; and a large number of New York state residents in the Second, Third and Fourth Parties. A few emigrants from Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan also appear on some of the lists. There is no way of estimating the number who left the companies before arriving in Kansas, or who, after a brief stay in the territory, returned East or went elsewhere to settle.

Numerous descendants of the Emigrant Aid Company pioneers are present-day residents of Kansas, and many others could probably be located in the New England states and in New York. It is regrettable that more information about these early-day pioneers is not available. The Historical Society will welcome additional information.

This brief outline is intended only as background for the Emigrant Aid Company of 1854. In February, 1855, the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts was chartered as the New England

³. *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas* (Washington, C. Wendell, 1856), 34 Cong., 1 Sess., House Report No. 200 (Serial 869), [Sec. II] p. 884. Thayer's statement needs some qualification. That the company's directors and officers unofficially supplied arms to Free-State men in 1855 and 1856, has been well established.—See Isely, W. H., "The Sharps Rifle Episode in Kansas History," in *The American Historical Review*, April, 1907.

⁴. *History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, With a Report on Its Future Operations* (Boston, 1862), p. 8.

Emigrant Aid Company. Manuscript lists of most of the parties which came to Kansas under its auspices in 1855 are also among the records of the Kansas State Historical Society. These will appear in the August issue of the *Quarterly*.

THE FIRST PARTY

(Departed from Boston, July 17, 1854; arrived at Kansas City, July 29, 1854.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Anthony, Daniel Read.....	Banker.....	Rochester, N. Y.....	Left Kansas in August, 1854, but returned, settling in Leavenworth in 1857; published <i>Leavenworth Times</i> ; died in 1904.
*†Archibald, John C.....	Carpenter.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Lawrence.
*†Cameron, Hugh.....	Farmer.....	Washington, D. C.....	Died in Douglas county in 1908; was much publicized as "The Kansas Hermit."
†Conant, Ezra.....	Mechanic.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Davenport, Edwin.....	Lawyer.....	Boston, Mass.....	.....
*†Doy, John.....	Physician.....	Rochester, N. Y.....	In 1856, Doy was imprisoned by Missourians for helping slaves escape; he was rescued by Free-State men. Doy and family left Kansas in 1859 or 1860, returning to Rochester, N. Y.; they later settled in Battle Creek, Mich., where John Doy died in 1870.
†Fowler, A.....	Farmer.....	Vermont.....	.....
*Fuller, Ferdinand.....	Architect.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Went East late in 1854; returned with his family in 1855; designed first University of Kansas building, and other Lawrence structures.
Goss, George W.....	Farmer.....	W. Randolph, Vt.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Gunther, Arthur.....	Clerk.....	Wisconsin.....	Settled in Douglas county; native of Germany and emigrated from Massachusetts according to 1855 census; was captain, Co. H, Second Kansas cavalry, 1862-1865.
Harlow, Oscar.....	Merchant.....	W. Randolph, Vt.....	Died in Lawrence, March 24, 1856.
*†Harrington, Samuel C.....	Physician.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Douglas county; served in a Kansas regiment as surgeon, 1863-1864. See Mrs. Harrington's name on list of the Fourth Party.
Hewes, George W.....	[Haverhill?] Mass.....		Left Kansas in 1855, according to Doy.
†Hewes, William H.....	Merchant.....	Haverhill, Mass.....	A letter by Hewes was published in the <i>Herald of Freedom</i> , Lawrence, December 1, 1855.
Hilpert, Augustus.....	Laborer.....	New York.....	Left Kansas in 1854 or 1855.
Holman, A.....	Mechanic.....	E. Brookfield, Mass.....	Died in Lawrence, December 3, 1854.

THE FIRST PARTY—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Hutchinson, George W.....	Speculator; clergyman.	W. Randolph, Vt.....	Settled in Lawrence; chaplain First Kansas colored infantry, 1863-1864; lived in Kansas City, Mo., in 1879.
†Jones, Ira M.....	Farmer.....	W. Randolph, Vt.....	On some lists he appears erroneously as J. M. Jones.
†Knapp, B. R.....		Massachusetts.....	
*†Mailey, John.....	Mechanic.....	Lynn, Mass.....	Probably left Kansas in 1855.
*†Mallory, Anson H.....	Speculator.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Moved from Lawrence to Denver in 1860; later lived in Leadville, Colo.
†Merriam, Benjamin.....	Mechanic.....	Roxbury, Mass.....	May have settled in Minnesota where he went after leaving Kansas territory.
*Morgan, Jonathan F.....	Farmer.....	S. Framingham, Mass....	Settled in Douglas county; died in Texas in 1873. (See Mrs. Morgan and children in list of Fourth Party.)
†Philbrick, Newell.....	Mechanic.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Returned East in August, 1854.
*Russell, Joseph W.....	Mechanic.....	Massachusetts.....	Journalist; wrote for <i>Missouri Democrat</i> ; left Kansas in 1855, according to Doy.
*†Stevens, James [D.].....	Mechanic.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence. This name appears on other lists as "J. S. Stevens;" also as "James L. Stevens."
*†Tappan, Samuel F.....	Reporter.....	Boston, Mass.....	Active in Kansas affairs, 1854-1860; moved to Colorado where he had a notable military career, 1861-1865; removed to New York City.
†Thacher, Joshua.....	Sportsman.....	Massachusetts.....	This name appears on one list as George Thacher.
†White, Edwin.....	Mechanic.....	Massachusetts.....	

Chief sources used in compiling this list: Andreas, A. T., and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 313; Lawrence Old Settlers' Association, "Minute Book, 1870-1879" (report of committee on historical matters at the 1876 annual meeting), in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society; Cordley, Richard, *History of Lawrence* (Lawrence, 1895), p. 6; Doy, John, *Thrilling Narrative of Dr. John Doy, of Kansas* (Boston, 1860), pp. 8, 9; Emigrant Aid Collection in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society; "Webb Scrapbooks," in Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

*Voted in the first election in Kansas territory, November 29, 1854. Lists of the voters are in the Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

† Listed in the first census of Kansas territory, taken in January and February, 1855. The Society has the original records, which have been indexed.

‡ Remained in Kansas territory only a short time, probably less than a month.

The pioneer party was much smaller than expected. It finally numbered twenty-nine men. Adverse factors were the incomplete organization of the Emigrant Aid Company, the extreme summer heat and news of cholera in the Mississippi valley. On July 15 Amos A. Lawrence wrote the Rev. Edward E. Hale:

I have known of the severity of the cholera for some days & have had much anxiety & many misgivings. But Mr Thayer has fixed the time & has promised to go with the party, & we are pledged to it. They shd know how the matter stands & decide each one for himself. . . .⁵

Two days later, as scheduled, the First Party left Boston. In the *Commonwealth* this comment appeared:

The pioneer party of emigrants from this city to Kansas, started from the Worcester depot yesterday afternoon. A large number of persons were present to witness their departure, and as the train was leaving, all joined in three hearty cheers. The party consisted of 16 persons, mostly highly intelligent and enterprising young men. Three of the number were from Roxbury, two from Lynn, four robust, intrepid Vermonters, and three from this city. From the large amount of business which has occupied the time of the company, they have been unable to secure a large party from this city and vicinity, but it is confidently believed they will secure a large number about the last of August, when another party will go out. The present party was started for the accommodation of Worcester and the Western cities, and it is believed that before they arrive at St. Louis the accessions will amount to upwards of four hundred. Eli Thayer Esq., of Worcester, and one of the Trustees of the company joins the party at that place and will accompany as far as Buffalo.⁶

Eleven men joined the party from Worcester and Worcester county, Mass., where an auxiliary organization, the Worcester County Kansas League, was already in operation.⁷ The two final recruits were Daniel Read Anthony and Dr. John Doy, both of Rochester, N. Y.

Arriving at Buffalo, N. Y., the emigrants boarded the steamboat *Plymouth Rock* and crossed Lake Erie to Detroit, Mich. Writing a few days later from St. Louis, Mo., Daniel R. Anthony described the party's progress from Michigan to Missouri:

The Kansas Pioneer Party left Detroit at 8 P.M. on the 19th, by the Michigan Central Railroad, W. H. Hopper, Conductor. . . . Owing to the detention of the Chicago train we did not get here [Chicago] till the St. Louis train had left, consequently, we were detained till night. Stopped at the Sherman House—saw nothing of cholera, though no doubt, many have died and many have been frightened and left the city. . . . We arrived in this city [St. Louis] on Friday night, about an hour too late for the Kansas boat.—Have engaged passage on the first class boat *Polar Star*, which leaves at 4 P.M. on the 25th. In this city we have stopped at the City Hotel, Mr. Merrit proprietor—to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. We commence board

5. Correspondence in Emigrant Aid Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. Eli Thayer accompanied the party only as far as Buffalo, N. Y.

6. Clipping from the Boston *Commonwealth*, July 18, 1854, in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 62.

7. Two of the earliest local emigrant aid societies organized were the "Worcester County [Mass.] Kansas League," and the "Monroe County [N. Y.] Kansas Emigration Society." The Worcester society promised to guarantee the Worcester county emigrants' expenses to Kansas, up to \$20. This amount did not cover the fare.—See New York *Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1854.

on boat on Sunday morning; fare up to Kansas \$12, including board, which is higher than usual, owing to low water, many of the boats having to be hauled off. . . .⁸

Another member of the party, writing under the pen name "Charlestown," was pleasantly surprised by the friendliness of the city's people:

No where has the party been more kindly received than in St. Louis. We are visited daily by intelligent citizens, who express a warm interest in the movement. We are assured that throughout the State the great bulk of the honest inhabitants desire just such a neighbor State as an encouraged emigration from the respectable inhabitants of the North would make of Kansas. . . .⁹

At St. Louis, Dr. Charles Robinson of Fitchburg, Mass., acting for the Emigrant Aid Company, met the group and gave them advice and information.¹⁰ A meeting was held on July 22, at which resolutions of confidence and thanks for the services of the Aid Company were passed. Hugh Cameron was chairman of the meeting, and Edwin Davenport, secretary.¹¹

On the afternoon of July 25 the party began the steamboat trip to Kansas City. Dr. John Doy wrote of the journey:

What a volume might be written concerning our noble boat and its mixed cargo! We had four Potawatomies going to the Kickapoo Indians, from Milwaukee. We have six slaves with their masters going to work hemp in Lexington, Missouri. Some of them appear happy in their midnight ignorance. The master of one said he paid \$1,400 for him. One poor fellow has left a wife and five children in Kentucky, but his master was compelled to sell him to save himself from ruin. We had many slaveowners on board, some of whom talked loud about tar and feathers on our arrival.¹²

The *Polar Star* reached Kansas City on the evening of July 28; the passengers disembarked the next morning. Charles H. Branscomb, agent of the Emigrant Aid Company, and James Blood, agent for Amos A. Lawrence, met the pioneers.¹³ They held a meeting on the bank of the Missouri river and voted to proceed into Kansas to the vicinity of Wakarusa river where a site for settlement had

8. Daniel R. Anthony to Isaac Butts, editor, July 24, 1854, in the Rochester *Daily Union*, July, 1854.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I. p. 69.

9. Unidentified clipping in *ibid.*, p. 70. "Charlestown," although not positively identified, was almost certainly Edwin Davenport.

10. According to the "Trustees' Records," v. I, entries of August 7 and August 12, 1854, Robinson was not officially an agent of the Emigrant Aid Company until August 7, but had gone to Kansas in the company's interest.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

11. Boston *Daily Advertiser*, July 29, 1854, and unidentified clippings in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 70.

12. Letter to the editor, July 29, 1854, published in the Rochester *Daily Democrat*, August 9, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 84.

13. Charles H. Branscomb was a young lawyer from Holyoke, Mass. He later settled in Missouri and served in the state legislature. Col. James Blood was from Wisconsin.



CHARLES ROBINSON
1818-1894

The Emigrant Aid Company employed Robinson in 1854 as a resident agent in Kansas. He helped establish Lawrence and Topeka and was first governor of the state, 1861-1863. He died at Lawrence on August 17, 1894.

already been tentatively chosen by Branscomb. Daniel Read Anthony wrote home of the party's reception at Kansas City:

In St. Louis, and on the boat, a certain class of political hacks, who manifested a great interest in our welfare, told us that we would not be permitted to land at Kansas; that the people of Missouri were determined at all hazards to prevent the settling of Kansas Territory by the emigrants from the Northern States. . . . But how different the result on landing! Many of the best citizens met us, extending to us a hearty welcome, expressing a wish that the thousands yet to come from the free States, would come immediately. Even E. M. McGee, a slaveholder . . . hearing that the party wished to purchase oxen, horses, wagons, &c., called at the hotel with his span of bays and carriage, and took two of our party to his home, and sold them property to the amount of \$300.¹⁴

No time was wasted in starting for Kansas. The group left on the evening of the same day, accompanied by Charles H. Branscomb and James Blood. Wrote one of the party:

Our preparations for departure from Kansas [City] into the territory were multiform, and we realized from their comprehensiveness that we were to penetrate into the wilderness. First, twenty tents were arranged for disposal in the capacious ox team. Then an incredible quantity of blankets, axes, tools of all sorts, provisions according to the tastes of our seven messes, cooking utensils, and our personal baggage. At 8 o'clock in the evening of July 29, the train started, guarded by the pioneers, and passing through pugnacious and fire-eating Westport, without the slightest disturbance, we halted for the night. The howling of some inoffensive prairie wolves aroused us early, and we found ourselves within the boundaries of the "promised land."

Leaving the ox team to plod its slow way, most of the party, impatient to arrive, chartered wagons and ponies for the balance of the journey, to the site near the Wakarusa, which had been selected for our encampment.¹⁵

B. R. Knapp described the journey:

. . . we travelled as much as possible during the night as the weather was very hot in the middle of the day, the mercury nearly 120, or thereabouts. We saw occasional[ly] a log house, as we passed along, inhabited by farmers from whom we obtained milk, &c., &c. On the evening of Sunday we encamped on the lands of the Shawnee Indians. This tribe of Indians are friendly, and are in possession of some of the finest lands in the country. . . . On Monday morning [July 31] we started early, and made good progress during the day, and in the evening arrived at the Wakarusa River, within 10 miles of our place of destination; here we encamped, and the next day reached our new home. Here we established our camps, and pitched our 25 tents, which made a fine appearance, although a little soiled.¹⁶

14. Anthony to Isaac Butts, editor of the Rochester *Union*, dated August 5, 1854, reprinted in the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 29, 1854.

15. "Charlestown" to the Boston *Journal*, dated August 6, 1854, published in the issue of August 26, 1854.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 102.

16. Letter of B. R. Knapp, dated August 9, 1854, published in the Boston *Sunday News*, August 27, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 103.

The encampment was made on present Mount Oread on August 1—a day when “the sun was pouring down its beams with terrific fierceness, and all nature shrank under the infliction. A high wind swept over the prairies, but it resembled the blast of a furnace. . . .”¹⁷ In spite of the heat the emigrants held a meeting and the following decision was made:

After full discussion by the members present, . . . it was voted, without a dissenting voice, to stop here; to proceed to make claims upon the land, it being understood that the Emigrant Company at home will make this spot the base of their future operations, and will forthwith, or as soon as possible, send men and money to carry effectually forward their grand enterprise. . . .¹⁸

They named the new settlement Wakarusa. On the next day, wrote “Charlestown”:

although the weather continued intensely warm, parties went out to secure claims in the neighborhood, and within three days each individual had contented himself with his prescribed 160 acres, whether of upland or lowland, timber or prairie. Little difficulty was found in selecting on the open prairie, but a great deal of the water frontage, comprising the wood land, had been already staked into claims. Where our new city was to be we found the log habitations of some four or five settlers of from four to six months standing. They were of that class which exists in the west, who are pioneers by profession, and who seek to be always in the advance guard of the army which invades the wilderness.¹⁹

Difficulties arose over the staking out of claims. According to B. R. Knapp:

One of our party had his camp utensils, tent, and all his fixings removed into the California road, a day or two since, because he had squatted on the claims of Nancy Miller. Nancy and another Hoosier woman made quick work with the intruders moveables. I had rather have a Prairee wolf after me than one of these Hoosier women.²⁰

Although the pioneers were for the most part enthusiastic about their new settlement, yet, by the middle of August less than half of the Emigrant Aid party of twenty-nine remained at Wakarusa. Unaccustomed pioneer hardships, homesickness, the heat—all played a part in discouraging the faint-hearted. Others of the group had returned East to settle business affairs and to bring out their families. Those who remained settled down to homestead their claims and to await developments from the Emigrant Aid Company.

17. “Charlestown’s” letter of August 7, 1854, in the Boston *Journal* of August 29, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 106.

18. Ferdinand Fuller was chairman of the meeting and Edwin Davenport, secretary. The proceedings were published in the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 12, 1854.

19. “Charlestown’s” letter of August 7, 1854, *loc. cit.* There were other permanent settlers, too—S. N. Wood, J. A. Wakefield, Rev. T. J. Ferril, to mention a few.

20. Knapp’s letter, dated August 9, 1854, in the Boston *Sunday News* of August 27, 1854.—Clipping in the “Webb Scrapbooks,” v. I, p. 103.

No formal government was yet in operation in the territory, but prior to the arrival of the Emigrant Aid party, opposing factions had organized, each with the intention of setting up ordinances for temporary government. One group was the Actual Settlers' Association of Kansas Territory, which generally favored the abolition of slavery, and was composed of men living in the territory. Another was the Wakarusa Association. Its members were Proslavery Missourians who were determined to participate in the territorial government of Kansas, although most of them had not even made land claims in the territory.²¹

On August 12, a meeting called by the Actual Settlers' Association was held at the house of a Mr. Miller, on the California road, about a mile from the Emigrant Aid Company settlement. Many Missourians of the Wakarusa Association arrived on the appointed day and maintained their right to take part in the proceedings. A member of the Emigrant Aid party described the scene:

In the morning the settlers were seen coming in, in all directions, on mules, jackasses, horses, and in all sorts of vehicles. Some of them coming 40 and 50 miles, and such a looking set of beings you never saw in your life; ragged and dirty, all bringing their provisions with them; it was a singular sight to see them at dinner. Camp fires were built in every direction, whiskey was as plenty as water, and as free as the Missouri, people bringing in large quantities.²²

On this occasion—the first clash in Kansas territory between Proslavery and Antislavery groups, an amicable settlement was reached, after much heated discussion. Wrote John Mailey:

I thought I had heard politics discussed by all kinds of men, and in every possible style; but for bombast, rant, and an almighty patriotic devotion to the great principles of the star-spangled banner and revolutionary blood, it beat everything I ever listened to in my life. Well, we managed to get through, amalgamated the two parties into one, called it the "Mutual Settlers' Association," passed laws and regulations which are to be binding upon all, and extending the protection of the association to each and every member thereof.—The meeting broke up with the best feeling possible, and all went their several ways satisfied that they had gained a glorious victory. . . .²³

Members of the Emigrant Aid party were not represented among the officers of the new association. The men elected were: John A. Wakefield, chief justice; J. W. Hayes, register of lands; William H. R. Lykins, marshal, and William Lyon, treasurer.

21. According to C. H. Branscomb the First Party had a squatter organization also, with Ferdinand Fuller as president and Edwin Davenport as secretary.—Worcester (Mass.) *Daily Spy*, August 12, 1854, clipping in *ibid.*, p. 89.

22. Letter dated August 16, 1854, in the Boston *Sunday News*, September 10, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 123.

23. Letter dated August 12, 1854, published in the Lynn (Mass.) *Weekly Reporter*, September 2, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 117.

On November 29, 1854, when the first formal election was held in Kansas territory, the eleven men of the pioneer party whose names appeared on the list of voters were: John C. Archibald, Hugh Cameron, John Doy, Ferdinand Fuller, Samuel C. Harrington, John Mailey, Anson H. Mallory, Jonathan F. Morgan, Joseph W. Russell, James D. Stevens and Samuel F. Tappan.

Others of the pioneer party who settled in Kansas were: Daniel R. Anthony, George W. Goss, Oscar Harlow and George W. Hutchinson.

THE SECOND PARTY

(Departed from Boston, August 29, 1854; arrived at Kansas City, September 6, 1854; Charles H. Branscomb, conductor.)

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
*Ackley, Ira W.....		New York.....	
Atwood, S. F.....			
†Ayer, John F.....		Massachusetts.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
†Bailey, Francis A.....	Carpenter.....	Framingham, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence.
Bascom, Lewis H.....		[Worcester, Mass.?].....	See, also, Second Spring Party of 1855.
†Bassett, Owen T.....	Merchant.....	Massachusetts.....	
†Bassett, Mrs. Susan.....		Massachusetts.....	Mother of Owen T. Bassett.
*†Bent, Horatio N.....	Blacksmith.....	New York.....	Settled first at Lawrence; later lived in Burlington.
*†Bond, Edwin P.....	Machinist.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Lawrence.
†Bond, Mrs. Susan A.....		Massachusetts.....	
Bruce, John, Jr.....			
Bruce, William.....		Worcester, Mass.....	Returned to Massachusetts before the end of 1854.
Bruce, Mrs. William.....		Worcester, Mass.....	
*†Buffum, David Chase.....	Shoemaker.....	Lynn, Mass.....	Murdered by Charles Hays in September, 1856.
*†Buffum, Robert.....	Farmer.....	Lynn, Mass.....	Cousin of David C. Buffum.
*†Carter, Jared.....	Farmer.....	Syracuse, N. Y.....	The Carters' son Lawrence, was born in Lawrence, October 25, 1854.
†Carter, Mrs. Lucy A.....		Syracuse, N. Y.....	
*†Colburn, Willard.....		Massachusetts.....	Settled in Douglas county. Name spelled "Coulbern" in 1855 census.
†Colburn, Mrs. Jane W.....		Massachusetts.....	
†Colburn, Mary S.....		Massachusetts.....	
†Colburn, Martha J.....		Massachusetts.....	
†Colburn, Albert W.....		Massachusetts.....	
†Colburn, Ellen F.....		Massachusetts.....	
* [Cracklin, Joseph] ²⁴		Boston, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence; organized militia company "The Stubbs"; served in Civil War in Second Kansas infantry and Second Kansas cavalry.
*†Dennett, Ephraim H.....		Massachusetts.....	Listed as "Ephram H. Bennett" in 1855 census.

24. A biographical sketch in Andreas and Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 334, gives the impression that Joseph Cracklin arrived in Kansas territory independently of the Emigrant Aid Company party.

THE SECOND PARTY—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
*†Earl, George F.....	Lawyer.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence; later lived in El Dorado; captain Co. A, Ninth Kansas cavalry, 1861-1864.
*†Emery, James Stanley.....	.....	New York.....	Settled in Douglas county; U. S. district attorney for Kansas, 1863-1867.
*†Fick, Henry W.....	Farmer.....	New York.....	Lived in, or near Emporia in 1860. Captain, 1864-1865, by the President's commission.
*†Gates, Levi.....	.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Killed in Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, August 21, 1863; Mrs. Gates remarried and died in Lawrence, August 9, 1915.
†Gates, Mrs. Louise W.....	.....	Worcester, Mass.....	
†Gates, Frances L.....	.....	Worcester, Mass.....	
†Gilbert, George.....	Farmer.....	Cayuga county, N. Y.....	Settled in Douglas county. Born in England; came to the U. S. in 1850.
†Grout, Milon.....	Farmer.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Grout, Mrs. Emily A.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
*†Grover, Joel.....	Farmer.....	Richmond, N. Y.....	Settled in Douglas county; active in Free-State affairs; member of legislature in 1869; died July 28, 1879.
*†Hancock, Horace A.....	Farmer.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Douglas county.
*†Hanscom, Oliver A.....	Merchant.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled at Lawrence; later lived in Decatur, Kan.
*† Haskell, Franklin.....	Farmer.....	N. Brookfield, Mass.....	Died at Lawrence, January 26, 1856.
*†Hazen, Azro.....	.....	Hartford, Vt.....	Brothers, or cousins.
Hazen, N.....	.....	Hartford, Vt.....	
Hobert, C.....	.....	.....	.....
Hood, W. A.....	.....	.....	.....
*†[Hooton], Robert J.....	Mariner.....	Massachusetts.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855. This name appears as Robert Hotan in the 1855 census.
*Hovey, William Henry.....	.....	.....	.....
*Howell, Lewis.....	.....	.....	Lived in Pleasant Valley, in 1879.
*†Johnson, Nathaniel D.....	Farmer.....	Ohio.....	.....
†Jones, Alfonso D.....	Painter.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Jones, Mrs. Carrie S.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Jones, Mary C.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Jones, Carrie M.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Jones, William.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Knight, Wilder.....	Farmer.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Knight, Mrs. Sarah C.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Knight, Edward F.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Knight, G. Washington.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Knight, Alex.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
†Knight, Sarah L.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
*†Ladd, Erastus D.....	.....	Milwaukee, Wis.....	Settled in Lawrence; postmaster in 1855; died in 1872.
*Ladd, John A.....	.....	.....	Son-in-law of John L. Mott.
*†Lamb, Otis H.....	Farmer.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Lawrence.

THE SECOND PARTY—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
*Lincoln, Luke P.....		Newton, Mass.....	Returned East in 1854; came back with an emigrant party early in 1855, settling at Manhattan; did not remain long in Kansas.
*†Litchfield, Lewis L.....		Cambridge, Mass.....	Died at Lawrence February 11, 1855.
†Litchfield, Mrs. Harriet S.....		Cambridge, Mass.....	Died at Lawrence April 7, 1855.
†Litchfield, Lewis T.....		Cambridge, Mass.....	Lived in Douglas county in 1860; served in Civil War.
†Litchfield, Harriet A.....		Cambridge, Mass.....	
Lockwood, Rev. — — —		New York.....	
†Mace, Joseph N.....	Engineer.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Mace, Mrs. Fidelia C.....			
*†Mack, John.....	Farmer.....	Massachusetts.....	Died in Lawrence October 9, 1870.
*†Merrill, Samuel.....	Machinist.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence.
†Mott, John L.....	Farmer.....	Michigan.....	
Muzzy, J. H.....			
*†Payne, Alfred J.....	Ship carpenter.....	Ohio.....	
Pomeroy, Moses.....		Massachusetts.....	Young relative of Samuel C. Pomeroy; died October 1, 1854, in Lawrence.
†Pomeroy, Samuel Clarke.....	Lawyer.....	Southampton, Mass.....	Financial agent of the Emigrant Aid Company; settled at Atchison; U. S. senator from Kansas, 1861-1873; died in Massachusetts in 1891.
*†Pratt, Caleb S.....	Merchant.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence; killed in 1861 in the battle of Wilson's creek.
Pratt, Stafford J.....	Carpenter.....	Boston, Mass.....	
*Reed, Josiah M.....		E. Boston, Mass.....	"Read" on some lists.
†Reynolds, Thomas F.....	Farmer.....	Williamsburg, N. Y.....	Settled in Lawrence.
Richards, — — —		Massachusetts.....	
*†Robinson, Charles.....	Physician.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Agent of the Emigrant Aid Company; first state governor of Kansas.
†Ropes, Edward E.....	Farmer.....	Massachusetts.....	Left Lawrence for Pike's Peak gold fields in 1859; later settled in Florida. Son of Mrs. Hannah A. Ropes, author of <i>Six Months in Kansas</i> .
Savage, Forrest.....		Hartford, Vt.....	Died in Lawrence August 17, 1915.
*Savage, Joseph.....		Hartford, Vt.....	Brother of Forrest. Settled in Douglas county.
Sawyer, James.....		Hartford, Vt.....	Left Kansas in July, 1855; removed to Wisconsin; died at Vineland, N. J., February 4, 1881.
*†Searl, Albert Dwight.....	Civil engineer....	Brookfield, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence; made first city survey; served in Ninth Kansas cavalry in Civil War.
Smith, Charles Wolcott.....	Cabinetmaker....	Lowell, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence; died there July 30, 1907.

THE SECOND PARTY—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Spittle, Matthew H. ²⁴	Farmer.....	New York.....	Settled in Douglas county.
*Strout, Jacob E.....	.....	.....	.....
Strout, Mrs. Jacob E.....	.....	.....	.....
*†Taft, Jerome B.....	Farmer.....	Boston, Mass.....	Reporter for the Second Party; returned to Boston and conducted the Fifth Party of 1854 to Kansas.
†Taylor, Owen.....	Farmer.....	Boston, Mass.....	.....
†Taylor, Mrs. Eunice S.....	.....	Boston, Mass.....	.....
*†Tolles, Francis O.....	Farmer.....	Perkinsville, Vt.....	.....
*Trask, Brainard B.....	.....	.....	.....
†Waite, John W.....	Farmer.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Lawrence.
*†Wayne, Silas B.....	Bootmaker.....	Massachusetts.....	Settled in Lawrence.
†Wayne, Mrs. Maryetta.....	.....	Massachusetts.....	.....
*†Wildes, Solomon.....	.....	Boston, Mass.....	.....
*†Willes, Stephen J.....	Farmer.....	New York.....	Settled in Douglas county; served in Ninth Kansas cavalry and Tenth Kansas infantry, 1861-1863; moved to Skiddy, Kan., where Mr. Willes died November 24, 1873.
*†Willes, Mrs. Anna.....	.....	New York.....	.....
†Willes, John E.....	.....	New York.....	.....
†Willes, Mary L.....	.....	New York.....	.....
†Willes, William A.....	.....	New York.....	.....
*†Williams, Harrison.....	Shipwright.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
*†Winslow, Edward W.....	.....	Barnard, Vt.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Younglove, Ira W.....	.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	.....

Chief sources used in compiling this list: Andreas and Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 313; Lawrence Old Settlers' Association, "Minute Book, 1870-1879," *loc. cit.*; Cordley, *op. cit.*, p. 8; New England Emigrant Aid Company Collection, *loc. cit.*; "Webb Scrapbooks," *loc. cit.*; Savage, Joseph, "Recollections of 1854," in *Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, June 23-September 29, 1870.

* Voted in the first election held in Kansas territory, November 29, 1854.

† Listed in the first census of Kansas territory, 1855.

Reports on Kansas territory from members of the pioneer party were for the most part enthusiastic. Their letters were widely published in Eastern papers and the trend of newspaper publicity was encouraging for the Emigrant Aid Company's venture. *The National Aegis*, on August 16, commented:

The interest in the Kansas Emigration enterprise is constantly increasing, and the intelligence from the first company from New England is calculated to awaken new interest in those who have hitherto been indifferent on the subject, as well as to strengthen and encourage those who were before convinced of the practicability and advantages of the plan.²⁵

On August 12, at a meeting of the Emigrant Aid Company trustees, the date August 29 was decided upon for the departure

25. Clipping from *The National Aegis*, Worcester, Mass., in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 92.

of a second party for Kansas. The following notice published in Eastern papers advertised the event:

The Second Party for Kansas, under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company, will leave Boston on TUESDAY, 29th inst., at 2½ o'clock P. M. It will go by the way of Albany, Buffalo, Lake Erie, Detroit, Chicago, Alton and St. Louis. Fare to Kansas City, \$25; meals extra; 100 pounds of baggage allowed each passenger.

THOMAS H. WEBB,
Sec. Em. Aid Co., Boston.²⁶

The Boston *Journal* described the group which assembled at the Boston depot on August 29:

The second party of emigrants from New England for Kansas, started from the Boston & Worcester depot yesterday at quarter past two. The party numbered sixty-seven in all—eight or ten of whom were females and about a dozen children from the age of infancy to that of fifteen or sixteen years. The larger part of the adults of the party we should judge, were under thirty-five years of age, and taken together they were a company of which New Englanders need not feel ashamed. The party embraced individuals from various parts of New England. Among them were a party of three or four from Hartford, Vt., who are musicians, and had their instruments with them.²⁷ Several had their rifles with them. The emigrants assembled in the ladies' room of the Lincoln street depot at half past one, and there sung the beautiful song written by Whittier, commencing:

"We cross the prairies, as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the Free."

After a few moments pause the . . . [“Song of the Kanzas Emigrants”] written for the occasion was also sung, to the music of the Missionary Hymn. . . .

The party then proceeded to the Albany street depot and embarked on board the train. . . .²⁸

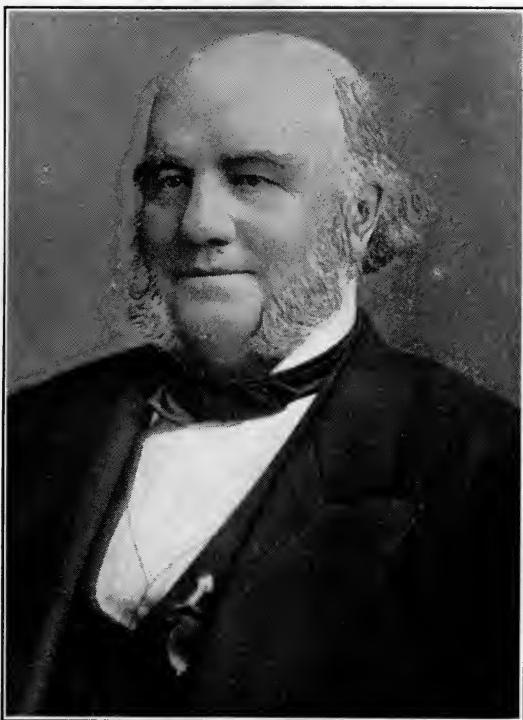
The conductor of this group was Charles H. Branscomb. Two other agents of the Emigrant Aid Company, Dr. Charles Robinson and Samuel C. Pomeroy, were also in the party. At stations along the way additional emigrants boarded the train until the total number was twice the original sixty-seven.²⁹

26. Advertisement from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 26, 1854. Children under three years of age traveled free, and those between three and twelve for half price.—See clipping from Boston *Journal*, September 14, 1854, “Webb Scrapbooks,” v. I, p. 128.

27. The musicians were Forrest and Joseph Savage, and their cousins A. and N. Hazen, all of Hartford, Vt. See article “The First Kansas Band,” by Edward Bumgardner, in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, pp. 278-281.

28. Clipping from the Boston *Journal*, August 30, 1854, in “Webb Scrapbooks,” v. I, p. 106.

29. Best available figures indicate there were about 135 in this party, though it has been possible to list only 107.



SAMUEL CLARKE POMEROY
1816-1891

Pomeroy represented the Emigrant Aid Company as its Kansas financial agent for several years. In 1861 he and James H. Lane became the first United States senators from Kansas, Pomeroy remaining in office until 1873. He died in Whitinsville, Mass., August 27, 1891.

One of the passengers wrote from Chicago to the Boston *Traveller*:

Our party left Boston on Tuesday, P. M., in high spirits, and have thus far had a most delightful journey, nothing occurring to mar our pleasure.

About 70 started from the Boston depot, 21 from Worcester, a party of 12 or 15 joined us at Albany,³⁰ and others have joined us at different points, so that we number thus far 135. At Albany we were received at the Delavan House by a representation of Albanians; speeches were made by several gentlemen on the part of the Albanians, and on our part by Messrs. Branscom[b], Pomeroy and Lockwood, and the meeting was closed with a song. . . .

We had a meeting in the cabin of the *May Flower* on Lake Erie, of which Mr. C. H. Branscom[b] was chosen President; E. P. Lincoln Vice-President; Jerome B. Taft of Massachusetts, and Rev. Mr. Lockwood of New York, Secretaries; Messrs. Mace, Lincoln, Buffum and Richards of Mass., Mr. Spittle of New York, and Mr. Hanscom of New Hampshire, were chosen to act as a business committee. . . .

S. P. C.³¹

The Second Party made rapid progress and reached Kansas City, Mo., on September 6. A letter written on that date by Jerome B. Taft records events of the journey:

After a week and one day, we find ourselves "dwellers in tents" on the banks of the Missouri, with health and spirits fine. We arrived in this place at 8 o'clock this morning, and our company being numerous, we pitched our tents just out of the town, twenty-five in number. We shall tarry here a day or two, or until we have perfected our organization, and made such arrangements as are necessary for our journey of thirty-five miles up the Kansas river, where we expect to establish our claims in due form. We have had a most prosperous journey thus far. We arrived in St. Louis on Saturday, at 4 P. M., and took passage immediately on board the steamer *New Lucy*, for Kansas City. Fortunately for us she was the fastest and most desirable steamer running on the Missouri, and after a voyage of three days and a half, (an unusually short one) we find ourselves, without harm or accident, at this place. . . .³²

Some of the party stayed over in St. Louis and arrived a little later. According to Caleb Pratt, one of the latter group:

Most of the party went up the Missouri immediately in the *New Lucy*; a number of us remained over a few days and went up in the *Clara* to Kansas City, Mo., a distance of 450 miles. We found that the party that had gone before had remained at Kansas City, and had been taking their first lesson in camp life, much to their discomfort. Our party immediately started for the Quaker Mission (some 12 miles from Kansas City) near which place we camped for several days. . . .³³

30. Those who joined at Albany also traveled under the auspices of the New York Kansas League which had just been formed. The Rev. Mr. Lockwood was said to be their conductor and financial agent.—See *New York Daily Tribune*, August 25, 1854.

31. "S. P. C." may have been Samuel C. Pomeroy. The letter, dated September 1, 1854, was published in the *Boston Traveller* in September, 1854.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 122. "E. P. Lincoln," should be "L. P. Lincoln."

32. Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 151, from *Boston Commonwealth*, September, 1854.

33. Clipping in *ibid.*, v. II, p. 21, from *Boston Evening Traveller*, November 23, 1854.—Letter dated October 20, 1854.

The Emigrant Aid Company's agents, Robinson and Pomeroy, proceeded to the Wakarusa settlement in advance of the Second Party to negotiate for a union of the first and second emigrant companies. They arrived on September 11, and accomplished their mission on the following day.³⁴ Erastus D. Ladd described the terms agreed upon:

An arrangement was finally effected, whereby both parties were to come in on equal terms, the first party being paid for their time and expenditures up to the arrival of the second party. The claims which had been made were to be surrendered, including a large number in fictitious names for the benefit of those who should follow, and the choice of them was to be sold at public auction, the proceeds to go into the city treasury. The members of the united party are to share equally in the city lots. The city extends for two miles along the Kansas river, and a mile and a half back south from the river, including three square miles of territory. This is to be divided equally among all the members at cost, in addition to their farm lots. . . .³⁵

In the same letter, dated September 19, he wrote:

Yesterday and today have witnessed important results in reference to our magnificent enterprise—the settlement of Kansas Territory, by the free people of the North. Yesterday we adopted a Constitution for the government of the "Lawrence Association of Kansas Territory." It provides for the usual form of city government, the determining and registry of claims upon the public lands in the absence of laws of the U. S., granting and securing to certain persons the aid and protection of the Association as against its own members, in the possession and enjoyment of claims, as, for instance, minors of 18 years and over, &c.

Today we proceeded to the election of officers under our new Constitution, with the following result:

For President, D[r]. C[harles]. Robinson, of Rochester, New York.³⁶

For Vice President, F. Fuller, Worcester, Mass.

For Secretary, C. S. Pratt, Boston, Mass.

For Treasurer, L. Gates, Worcester.

For Register of Deeds and Claims, and Clerk of Court, E. D. Ladd, Milwaukee, Wis.

For Surveyor, [A. D.] Searles,³⁷ of Brookfield, Mass.

For Marshal, Joel Grover, Richmond, New York.

For Arbitrators, (any one of whom to hold Court,) J. Mailey, Lynn, Mass., [Owen] Taylor, Boston, — — Bruce, Worcester.

For Council, Mallory, Lincoln, Willis, Emery, Tappan, Morgan, Haskell, Harrington, Johnson and Cracklin.

Ladd also described the sale of claims:

After the election of officers, the Association proceeded to sell the choice of farm claims, payment to be made by note due in one year, without in-

34. Most of the Second Party arrived at the Wakarusa settlement on September 15, 1854.

35. Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 162, from the Boston *Atlas* of October 14, 1854.—Letter dated September 19, 1854; reprinted from the Milwaukee (Wis.) *Sentinel*.

36. Charles Robinson's home was Fitchburg, Mass., not Rochester, N. Y.

37. Albert D. Searl, not Searles.

terest, with a lien upon the city property of the purchaser as security for the payment of the note, he remaining individually responsible for the balance if the security should not prove to be sufficient. Fifty-six claims, or the choice of them, were sold for the aggregate sum of \$5043. The bidding was very spirited and increased in the amounts obtained as the choices decreased, for instance the eleventh choice brought \$327.00, the highest sold, where as the first sold for \$252.50, and the second for \$180; the seventeenth brought \$165, after which they rapidly declined, and for the 57th there was no bid and the sale was adjourned. . . .³⁸

A fairly large proportion of the Second Party decided to remain in Kansas. The company had arrived in the late summer when the weather was fine for "camping out." Everyone was in good health and good spirits.³⁹ Under these ideal conditions they settled down to make homes for themselves. Erastus D. Ladd in his letter of September 19 wrote:

All here are still living in tents, and it would please you to see us men at the hour of meals, gathered around our camp fires with our frying pans, tea-kettles, bake-kettles and other appliances, providing our food, some to their wrists in dough, preparing bread, and others washing dishes. Well, this will be obviated when we get places to live, and our wives and families (those who have them, the rest of us can board or keep bachelor's hall,) come on.

We have just finished a large house which will be opened on Monday next as a boarding house;⁴⁰ board for members is \$2.50 per week. It is constructed of poles, the roof thatched with prairie grass, and the sides and ends covered with cotton cloth. We are constructing another similar to it for the occupation of the pioneer party, as they must surrender their tents on the arrival of the large party which is to leave Boston on the 26th inst.⁴¹

Rev. Samuel Y. Lum, his wife and children and Anna Tappan arrived at Wakarusa about the same time as the Second Party and were considered part of the group, insofar as sharing in the "Lawrence Association."⁴²

38. According to a statement in the Lawrence old settlers' "Minute Book," *loc. cit.*, the first twenty claims were bid as follows: 1st choice to J. F. Morgan for \$252.50; 2d to F. Fuller for \$180.00; 3d to S. C. Harrington for \$202.50; 4th to W. H. Hovey for \$239.00; 5th to S. J. Willes for \$287.00; 6th to J. B. Taft for \$312.00; 7th to L. P. Lincoln for \$310.00; 8th to H. A. Hancock for \$302.00; 9th to E. P. Bond for \$305.00; 10th to Silas Wayne for \$315.00; 11th to J. A. Ladd for \$327.00; 12th to J. S. Mott for \$302.00; 13th to E. D. Ladd for \$212.00; 14th to N. T. Johnson for \$155.00; 15th to J. Savage for \$170.00; 16th to Joel Grover for \$160.00; 17th to F. O. Tolles for \$165.00; 18th to George Gilbert for \$52.00; 19th to C. S. Pratt for \$40.00; 20th to Otis H. Lamb for \$40.00. None of the money bid was ever paid as the association voted not to collect.

39. One exception was Moses Pomeroy, young relative of Samuel C. Pomeroy, who died on October 1, 1854, of a fever contracted on the way to Kansas. His is the first death recorded in the Wakarusa (or Lawrence) settlement.

40. The boarding house was kept by Lewis L. Litchfield and his wife of the Second Party. In late October they had some 150 boarders.—Letter of Samuel F. Tappan, Jr., dated October 24, 1854, in Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise*, October 28, 1854, clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 208.

41. The Third Emigrant Aid Company Party.

42. According to Joseph Savage there were 79 members enrolled on the books of the Lawrence Association and entitled to equal shares in city lots. He also stated that S. Y. Lum, S. N. Simpson and S. N. Wood were afterwards admitted by vote.—Savage, Joseph, "Recollections of 1854," *loc. cit.*

THE THIRD PARTY

(Departed from Boston, September 26, 1854; arrived at Kansas City, October 7, 1854; Charles H. Branscomb, conductor.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Abbott, Hubbard.....	Shoemaker.....	North Oxford, Mass.....	.....
*Abbott, James Burnett.....	Toolmaker.....	Springfield, Mass.....	Lived near Lawrence, 1854-1861;
†Abbott, Mrs. Elizabeth.....	.....	Springfield, Mass.	removed to Johnson county; prominent in territorial affairs; U. S. agent for Shawnee Indians, 1861-1866.
†Abbott, Nellie Maria.....	.....	Springfield, Mass.....	Died August 20, 1858, at Coal creek, K. T.
†Adair, Samuel Lyle.....	Missionary.....	Ohio.....	Came to Kansas under auspices of the American Missionary Association. Mr. Adair died at Ossawatomie in 1898.
Adair, Mrs. Florella.....	.....	Ohio.	
†Adair, Charles S.....	.....	Ohio.	
Adams, Richard.....	Tanner.....	Salem, Mass.....	.....
Adams, Silas.....	Shoemaker.....	Worcester, Mass.....	.....
Adams, Mrs. Silas.....	.....	Worcester, Mass.....	.....
Adams, John Wesley.....	.....	Worcester, Mass.....	12 years old.
Adams, Lorenzo B.....	.....	Worcester, Mass.....	5 years old.
Aldrich, S. T. W.....	Farmer.....	Newton, Mass.....	.....
Ames, Nathaniel.....	Lawyer.....	Marshfield, Mass.....	.....
Andrews, Q. E.....	Daguerreotyper.....	Seneca Falls, N. Y.....	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.
*†Andrews, Stillman.....	Tanner.....	Sutton, N. H.....	Settled in Lawrence.
†Andrews, Mrs. Alice.....	.....	Sutton, N. H.....	.....
†Andrews, Elizabeth Frances.....	.....	Sutton, N. H.....	9 years old.
†Andrews, Lemuel L.....	.....	Sutton, N. H.....	4 years old.
†Andrews, Orin.....	.....	Sutton, N. H.....	2½ years old.
†Andrews, Juliett.....	.....	Sutton, N. H.....	Infant.
Axtell, S. T.....	.....	New Vernon, Pa.....	Assistant agent of the Western Pennsylvania Kansas Company; joined party at Chicago.
Ayers, Barrington.....	Shoemaker.....	Lynn, Mass.....	.....
Baker, Stillman D.....	Shoemaker.....	Marlborough, Mass.....	.....
†Banks, Robert.....	Shoemaker.....	Lynn, Mass.....	.....
Barnes, George M.....	Merchant.....	New York.....	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.; left at St. Louis.
Barton, Stephen K.....	Farmer.....	Philmont, N. Y.....	Joined party at Rochester, N. Y.
Blodgett, Simeon.....	.....	S. Deerfield, Mass.....	.....
Brown, James.....	Farmer.....	Marcellus, N. Y.....	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.
*†Burleigh, Jonathan M.....	Shoemaker.....	Londonderry, N. H.....	Settled in Zeandale township, present Riley county, in 1855.
†Burleigh, Mrs. Harriet W.....	.....	Londonderry, N. H.....	10 years old; died at Lawrence February 2, 1855.
†Burleigh, Ellen Frances.....	.....	Londonderry, N. H.....	4 years old.
†Burleigh, Joseph Frank.....	.....	.....	.....
†Burroughs, Oscar.....	Farmer.....	Bridgeport, Conn.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.; settled in Lawrence.
*†Carlton, John W.....	Clerk.....	Salem, Mass.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
†Carnes, Henry.....	Clerk.....	Boston, Mass.....	.....
Cary, A. B.....	Trader.....	Seneca Falls, N. Y.....	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.
Chapin, A. P.....	Farmer.....	Granby, Mass.....	.....

THE THIRD PARTY—*Continued*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Clarrage, William.....	Shoemaker.....	Lynn, Mass.....	
Cleale, Albert.....	Wheelwright.....	Holliston, Mass.....	
Cleveland, William P.....	Butcher.....	Topsfield, Mass.....	
Colby, Thomas.....	Carpenter.....	Haverhill, Mass.....	
Colby, Mrs. Thomas.....		Haverhill, Mass.....	
Colby, Sarah E.....		Haverhill, Mass.....	17 years old.
Colby, Elizabeth H.....		Haverhill, Mass.....	15 years old.
Colby, Thomas W.....		Haverhill, Mass.....	12 years old.
Colby, George A.....		Haverhill, Mass.....	3 years old.
Colby, Charles H.....		Haverhill, Mass.....	Infant.
*†Condit, David.....	Farmer.....	New Vernon, Pa.....	Joined party at Chicago.
*†Crane, John L.....	Carpenter.....	Suffield, Conn.....	Settled in Lawrence; killed in Quantrill's raid, August 21, 1863.
Cronk, Ambrose.....	Farmer.....	Miami county, Ind.....	Joined party at St. Louis.
Darling, Alexander C.....			Left party at St. Louis.
Davis, Marcus.....			
Dickson, Charles.....	Farmer.....	Groton, Mass.....	
Emerson, James D.....	Carpenter.....	Uxbridge, Mass.....	
*†Farnsworth, Charles Peyton.....	Machinist.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854; later lived in Shawnee county.
Felton, Silas A.....	Shoemaker.....	Marlborough, Mass.....	
*†Fitch, Edward P.....	Farmer.....	Hopkinton, Mass.....	Killed in Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, August 21, 1863.
Foot, John W.....	Farmer.....		Joined party at Amsterdam, N.Y.
*†Furguson, Janette.....		Native of Scotland.....	11 years old; sister of Mrs. Thomas Overfield.
*†Furguson, William.....	Currier.....	Native of Scotland.....	Brother of Mrs. Thomas Overfield.
Gleason, Augustus H.....	Surveyor.....	Unionville, Conn.....	
Goodrich, Washington.....	Farmer; minister	Middleburg, N. Y.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.
Grindall, Charles I.....	Laborer.....	Bangor, Maine.....	
Grindall, Ralph D.....	Carpenter.....	Bangor, Maine.....	} Brothers.
*†Hadley, Daniel P.....	Laborer.....	Claremont, N. H.....	Died at Lawrence, November 6, 1855.
*†Hall, Horace.....	Farmer.....	Vienna, N. Y.....	
*†Hall, John.....	Farmer.....	Vienna, N. Y.....	} Brothers.
*†Hall, Mathew.....	Farmer.....	Vienna, N. Y.....	
Hammond, Charles H.....	Farmer.....	Eastford, Conn.....	
Hammond, Joshua.....	Farmer.....	Eastford, Conn.....	} Brothers.
Hanlin, Thomas O.....	Laborer.....	New York.....	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.; this name perhaps should be listed as "Thomas O'Hanlin."
*†Higgins, Leonard G.....	Carpenter.....	W. Boylston, Mass.....	
*†Hill, Forester.....	Carpenter.....	Spencer, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Holland, John.....	Shoemaker.....	Lynn, Mass.....	
*†Holt, George E.....	Shoemaker.....	Springfield, Mass.....	
*†Holt, Mrs. Lora H.....		Springfield, Mass.....	
Hubbard, Chester.....	Farmer.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Note on manuscript list reads:
Hubbard, Mrs. Chester and child.....		Worcester, Mass.....	"Left behind."
			7 years old.

THE THIRD PARTY—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Hunt, A. C.	Farmer.....	Northfield, N. H.	
Hunt, George Washington....	Carpenter.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Returned to Massachusetts late in 1854; conducted Sixth Party of 1855 to Kansas in April, 1855; settled in Douglas county.
Jacques, Josiah S.	Farmer.....	N. Chelmsford, Mass.....	
James, D. M. ....	.....	St. Albans, Vt.....	Left party at St. Louis.
Johnson, Peter F.	Laborer.....	Charlestown, Mass.....	Paid fare only as far as St. Louis.
†Johnson, Theodosius....	Farmer.....	Honeoye Falls, N. Y.	Joined party at St. Louis; settled in Lawrence.
Jones, Samuel.....	Millwright.....	Salem, Mass.....	
*†Jordan, Charles, Jr.	Salesman.....	Boston, Mass.....	
*†Kimball, Frederick....	Patternmaker.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Killed in Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, August 21, 1863.
*†Kimball, Samuel....	Machinist.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Brother of Frederick; settled in Lawrence.
*†Kitchingman, William....	Farmer.....	Parma, N. Y.....	Formerly of Leeds, England; joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.; settled in Douglas county.
†Lehiman, Wendelin....	Laborer.....	Webster, Mass.....	In the 1855 census this man is listed as "Vandaline Leman."
Loomer, Charles.....	Carpenter.....	Lynn, Mass.....	Settled near Kansas City, Mo.
Loomer, Mrs. Charles.....	.....	Lynn, Mass.....	Probably never came to Kans.
Loomer, Harriet.....	.....	Lynn, Mass.....	14 years old.
Loomer, Charles.....	.....	Lynn, Mass.....	12 years old.
Loomer, Mary C. ....	.....	Lynn, Mass.....	7½ years old.
*†Lowe, Daniel....	Farmer.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
Masuch, Edward.....	Machinist.....	Boston, Mass.....	From Switzerland.
Mitchell, Granville P.	Bookkeeper.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Morey, A. W. ....	.....	Murray, N. Y.	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.
Morey, Robert.....	.....	Murray, N. Y.	Son of A. W. Morey.
Morey, Mrs. — — —	.....	Murray, N. Y.	Mother of A. W. Morey.
Morgan, James W.	Farmer.....	Glenn's Falls, N. Y.	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.
Morton, S. J.	Painter; cabinet-maker.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	
Murray, Charles M.	Bootmaker.....	Worcester, Mass.....	
Murray, Mrs. Charles M. ....	.....	Worcester, Mass.....	
Nason, Sidney.....	Laborer.....	Portland, Maine.....	
Nason, William H.	Blacksmith.....	Portland, Maine.....	Brothers.
Neusser, Henry.....	Machinist.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Neusser, Jacob.....	.....	Boston, Mass.....	Father-in-law of E. Masuch. Son of Henry Neusser.
*†Ogden, Jonathan....	Carpenter.....	Chelsea, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
*†[Ogden, Stephen] ⁴³	Carpenter.....	Chelsea, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
*†Overfield, Thomas....	Leather manufacturer.....	Danvers, Mass.....	See, also, entry under Furguson.
†Overfield, Mrs. Margaret....	.....	Danvers, Mass.....	
†Overfield, W. N. ....	.....	Danvers, Mass.....	Infant.
Owen, Dr. D. T. ....	.....	Pennsylvania.....	Agent of Western Pennsylvania Kansas Company; joined party at Chicago; left at St. Louis.

43. While this name does not appear on the manuscript roster of the Third Party, there seems little doubt but that Stephen Ogden came with this company. Amasa Soule, of the Fifth Party, mentions staying at S. Ogden's cabin near Lawrence.

THE THIRD PARTY—*Continued*

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Owen, DeWitt.....	Farmer.....	Granby, Mass.....	.....
Parsons, L. E.....	Bootmaker.....	Worthington, Mass.....	.....
Pike, H. S.....	Bootmaker.....	Worthington, Mass.....	Brother of J. A. Pike.
*†Pike, Joshua A.....	Carpenter.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county; later
†Pike, Mrs. Mary E.....		Worcester, Mass.....	lived in Florence, Kan.
*†Pillsbury, Josiah H.....	Carpenter; surveyor.....	Londonderry, N. H.....	Settled first at Lawrence; moved to Zeandale township, present Riley county, in 1855.
†Pillsbury, Mrs. Alnora F.....		Londonderry, N. H.....	Infant.
†Pillsbury, Arthur J.....		Londonderry, N. H.....	
Rice, L. D.....		Sodus, N. Y.....	"Booughjt Nathl. Ames ticket."—Note on manuscript list.
Rice, Valorus.....	Farmer; mason.....	Sodus, N. Y.....	Joined party at Ypsilanti, Mich.
*Ricker, William.....	Farmer.....	Poland, Maine.....	.....
Roberts, Edwin.....	Manufacturer.....	Woodbury, Conn.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.
Roberts, John.....	Manufacturer.....	Woodbury, Conn.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.
Rose, John.....	Laborer.....	Waterbury, Conn.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.; left at St. Louis.
*Russell, John L.....	Carpenter.....	Marcellus, N. Y.....	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.
Rust, Pulaski.....	Farmer; teacher.....	Middleburg, N. Y.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.
*†Saunders, Henry F.....	Carpenter.....	Salem, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Saunders, Joshua.....	Carriagemaker.....	Somerville, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence.
Sawyer, Albert.....	Farmer.....	Cumberland, Maine.....	
Sawyer, John S.....	Farmer.....	Cumberland, Maine.....	Brothers.
Seaman, M. W.....	Physician.....	Glenn's Falls, N. Y.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.
Shattuck, P. R.....	Farmer.....	Stockton, N. Y.....	Joined party at Buffalo, N. Y.
*†Smith, Joshua.....	Farmer.....	Trenton, N. Y.....	Joined party at Utica, N. Y.
†Stone, Thomas J.....	Salesman.....	Somerville, Mass.....	Died in Douglas county July 17, 1855; aged about 25 years.
Teason, Peter.....	Farmer.....	Charlestown, Mass.....	From Germany.
Teason, Mrs. Peter.....		Charlestown, Mass.....	.....
Teason, Rebecca.....		Charlestown, Mass.....	16 years old.
Teason, Henry.....		Charlestown, Mass.....	11 years old.
Teason, Louisa.....		Charlestown, Mass.....	4 years old.
*†Thaxter, Joshua.....	Laborer.....	Portland, Maine.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
†Thaxter, Mrs. Merial.....		Portland, Maine.....	.....
†Thaxter, George R. W.....		Portland, Maine.....	.....
Tucker, Isaac L.....	Shoemaker.....	Lowell, Ill.....	.....
†Walling, William B.....	Farmer.....	W. Boylston, Mass.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
Waters, Joseph G.....	Farmer.....	Millbury, Mass.....	.....
Wells, Thomas.....	Farmer.....	Remsen, N. Y.....	Joined party at Rochester, N. Y.
Wells, Thomas.....	Farmer.....	Bridgeport, Conn.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.
†Wells, William D.....	Farmer.....	Bridgeport, Conn.....	Joined party at Albany, N. Y.; settled in Douglas county.
Wheeler, James B.....	Farmer.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	"Confirmed drunkard, sent back from Detroit."—Note on manuscript list.

THE THIRD PARTY—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
White, Charles.....	Cooper.....	Charlestown, Mass.....	
Wilder, Abraham.....	Blacksmith.....	Bolton, Mass.....	
*Wilder, John H.....	Blacksmith.....	Clinton, Mass.....	Son of Abraham; settled in Lawrence.
Wiltse, William B.....	Blacksmith.....	Osborn's Bridge, N. Y.....	Joined party at Amsterdam, N. Y.
Winslow, Orin F.....	Farmer.....	Fall River, Mass.....	
Woodbury, William H.....	Farmer.....	Sutton, Mass.....	"Left behind."—Note on manuscript list.

Chief sources used in compiling this list: Two manuscript lists appearing consecutively in a small record book in the Emigrant Aid Collection, *loc. cit.*; "Webb Scrapbooks," *loc. cit.*

* Voted in the first election held in Kansas territory, November 29, 1854.

† Listed in the first census of Kansas territory, 1855.

Charles Branscomb, conductor of the Second Party, returned from Kansas territory in time to take charge of the Third Party, which left Boston on September 26. The Boston *Evening Telegraph* carried this account of the company's departure:

Yesterday afternoon [September 26], at 2½ o'clock, the third party of Kansas emigrants from Boston, assembled at the station-house of the Western Railroad. The company consisted of 96 individuals in all, nine of whom were women, and about a dozen children.⁴⁴ The party, with the exception of five adult Swedes, was composed entirely of New Englanders, the major part from Massachusetts, with a few from Maine, New Hampshire and Connecticut. The occupation of the men is chiefly farming, though there are a few carpenters and shoemakers among them. They generally carried rifles or muskets, and were a substantial class of men.

Prior to the departure, the entire company, (among whom was a large number of the friends of the emigrants,) united in singing Whittier's splendid lyric . . . and also the song of the "Kansas Emigrants."

Prayer followed from Rev. L. E. Caswell, city missionary, which was impressively solemn and appropriate. The departure then took place, after mutual congratulations, amid hearty cheering and some few tears of affection and sympathy.

We learn that at Worcester an accession to the party of 31, and at Springfield, of a smaller number, was made—all of the right material for Western pioneers. The company quartered at the Delevan House, Albany, last night, and, being largely increased by accessions from New York and other places, was to leave for Buffalo at 7½ o'clock. They leave Buffalo this evening [September 27], and proceed, *via* Detroit, Alton and St. Louis, to the "chosen ground." It is thought there will be upwards of 200 in the party when it leaves St. Louis.⁴⁵

44. Thomas H. Webb reported that the Third Party leaving Boston numbered 86 individuals; there were several immigrants from Switzerland in this party, but none from Sweden.

45. Boston *Evening Telegraph*, September 27, 1854.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 141.

The Chicago *Daily Democratic Press* wrote of the party's arrival in that city:

Yesterday afternoon [September 29] over a hundred and fifty persons, mostly from the vicinity of Boston, arrived in this city on their way to Kansas. There were about twenty families among them. They are to settle together in a town called Waukarusa on the Kansas river, forty miles above its mouth.⁴⁶

The account also told of the public meeting held in the evening at which C. H. Branscomb spoke to a good-sized crowd of Chicago citizens on the aims and intentions of the Emigrant Aid Company and its pioneers.

From Chicago to Alton the party traveled by train. At the latter city they took a steamboat for the 24-mile journey to St. Louis which they reached on September 30 at half-past six in the evening. There they boarded the *Clara* for the journey up the Missouri river to Kansas City. The river was low and it took six days to complete the trip. While on board the *Clara*, on October 3, the emigrants held a meeting. William B. Wiltse was chosen chairman and Augustus H. Gleason acted as secretary. Josiah H. Pillsbury, Daniel Lowe and Charles Dickson were appointed a committee on resolutions by motion of James W. Morgan. They passed resolutions in appreciation of the philanthropic efforts of the Emigrant Aid Company, acknowledged their debts to the company's agents, and expressed thanks to Captain Cheever of the *Clara* for his hospitality.⁴⁷

There can be no doubt, however, that these resolutions did not reflect the opinion of all the group. The Third Party had experienced delays and inconveniences en route which were disheartening. Many were discouraged by their reception at Kansas City on October 7, and by the news that they could not have equal shares in the "Lawrence Association." A correspondent for the *New York Times* wrote his paper on October 9:

The truth is, that the Boston Emigrant Aid Company has by no means fulfilled its pledges to the public, or its duty to its *protégés*. There seems a total lack of system in their operations, and of efficiency in their agents. The last company, which arrived early Saturday morning, in charge of Mr. Brunscombe, are loud in their complaints, and justly so. They were about ten days on the road, subjected to much greater expense than had been expected, frequently scattered, both members and baggage being left behind at several points on the way, and worse than all, finding on their arrival not the least provision made for their comfort, or to facilitate their location. The Company

46. Chicago *Daily Democratic Press*, September 30, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 149.

47. Worcester (Mass.) *Daily Spy*, October 18, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 166; New York *Daily Tribune*, October 20, 1854.

advertises *at home*, to provide *good* board, till the emigrants locate, at a dollar and a half *per week*; while the truth is, that the only accommodation is found at a professed hotel owned by them, and kept in the most shameful manner, as regards cleanliness and fare, at the rate of a dollar and a quarter *a day*. When the *Banner State* discharged her load here on Saturday morning, I was reminded more than I liked to be of the landing of Irish Emigrants at New York. Like them, the members of the Boston Train are sent on shore to go uninformed, unaided, alone, through the great Territory in search of homes,—subjected to the most outrageous *plucking* on the part of the jackals who hover around to enrich themselves by such means. All day Saturday and Sunday, straggling parties of men and women were wandering away into the prairie, forbidden by both purse and stomach to remain at Kansas City, deprived of the privilege of spending the Sabbath, like their forefathers of old, in thanksgiving for their safe arrival. . . .⁴⁸

If the treatment of this company was impartially reported by the *Times* correspondent, it is not surprising that many of the emigrants never entered Kansas territory. The letter of Charles Loomer, who, with his wife and three children were in the Third Party, described the experience of one family:

Kanzas City, (Mo.) Oct. 13, 1854.

Dear Friends:—We arrived safe at this place on Saturday, Oct. 7th, 1854. We hired a log house a short distance from the city, on the highway to California, soon after our arrival, and are keeping house. There is but one room in our log cabin.—You can see nothing but hills and valleys all around. There are any quantity of pigs in this place; they run wild all over the fields and in the streets. You can "smell pork" anywhere. There is much travel by our house, and Indians, men and squaws, on horseback, frequently ride by. Kanzas is anything but a city; a few stores by the water side, and about one hundred log houses scattered around the hills, make up the city. I have not as yet been to the territory, which is 50 or 60 miles from this place. Some of our company, on their arrival, immediately went there in wagons, and on foot; exposed to the scorching sun. The heat is greater here now than it is in mid-summer. The party on foot immediately on their arrival, turned about and came back. They say there is but one hill to be seen, and all the rest is prarie. Timber is scarce, and water is very scarce indeed. About one-third of our company, which entered Kanzas 200 strong, have returned home or gone to St. Louis and other places. On the passage from St. Louis to Kanzas there were some cases of dysentery, myself and family had an attack.

Those who bring with them \$500 or \$1000 to buy stock and implements for their farms, and are young, or have good constitutions, get along very well; but for men without capital, or whose health is none of the best, it were

48. Of the Emigrant Aid Company hotel "Idem." wrote: "The financial agent [Samuel C. Pomeroy] has within a few days purchased the 'Union Hotel' in Kanzas City, for which he paid \$10,000. It is a fine brick edifice, and is designed for the reception of emigrants on their arrival. It is under the supervision of Mr. Morgan, a Massachusetts man. . . ."—Letter dated September 28, 1854, published in the Boston *Evening Telegraph* of [October] 1854, in clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 165. The Third Party either traveled from St. Louis to Kansas City in two boats, or the writer mistakenly substituted the *Banner State* for the *Clara*. The indictment of the Emigrant Aid Company appeared in the New York *Daily Times* of October 21, 1854.

better for them to stay at home. There are various opinions in regard to the territory, or that part of it where the emigrants calculate to plant themselves. I believe, however, they all agree in regard to the fertility of the soil, the scarcity of woodland, timber, and wood to burn. . . .⁴⁹

The Boston *Daily Evening Traveller* published this story:

. . . A young Milk street clerk, who went out with the September party from this city, writes to his friends a most doleful account of his sufferings. He says that, after reaching Kanzas City, he and others of his party started on foot, gun in hand, for their new location. On their way, he says, they were obliged to sleep in the hay gathered up in the fields, purchasing a quart of milk of an Indian squaw for twenty-five cents to moisten their hard food, that upon reaching their destination they found the accommodations to be a few overcrowded tents, and they were obliged to camp in the open air. The land now unclaimed is some distance from the river, and is bare of wood.

In addition, he says it is necessary to keep a vigilant eye upon their effects, for fear of their disappearance. He declares that of the party of one hundred and sixty who left with him, at least ninety are on their way back to the Eastward, well satisfied that they are not fitted to settle a new and unbroken country, and quite disposed to pronounce the whole Kanzas scheme a grand humbug. . . .

The *Traveller* commented: ". . . it evidently requires a very different sort of person from this . . . writer to settle and develop the resources of the western wilderness."⁵⁰ Probably there were a number in the Third Party who were unqualified for pioneer life, for Charles H. Branscomb, the guide, wrote the Emigrant Aid Company while en route to Kansas, urging circumspection in regard to the character of people allowed to join the company's parties.⁵¹

Those who decided to settle in Kansas found claims in, or near, the Aid Company settlement at Wakarusa—or Lawrence, as it was by this time known.⁵² Available information indicates that approximately two-thirds of the emigrants returned East, or settled outside Kansas. Practically all those who remained were New Englanders.

49. Boston *Herald*, November 10, 1854.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. II, p. 10.

50. Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*, October 24, 1854.—Clipping in *ibid.*, v. I, p. 174.

51. "Trustees' Records," v. I, tenth meeting, October 7, 1854, *loc. cit.*

52. Some provision was made for sharing lots in Lawrence with the Third Party according to Samuel F. Tappan, who, in a letter dated October 14, 1854, wrote: "The city is designed to be two miles square, divided off into city lots of 1-7th of an acre each. After land has been reserved for public buildings, and other public purposes, something over 9,000 lots will remain for distribution. The Emigrant Aid Co. are to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of the lots, $\frac{1}{4}$ are in the hands of a Board of Trustees, to be given away to persons that will build upon them within a year. Each member of the last party [i.e., the Third Party] is to receive two lots. Each member of the two first parties receives about thirty lots. Most if not all of the members of the three parties, have taken up farm claims containing 160 acres within ten miles of this city."—Letter published in the Boston *Atlas*, November 1, 1854, in clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. II, p. 1.

THE FOURTH PARTY

(Departed from Boston, October 17, 1854; arrived at Kansas City, October 28, 1854; J. M. S. Williams and Charles H. Branscomb, conductors.)

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Abbott, Harvey.....	Machinist.....	Charlestown, N. H. ....	.....
*Allen, Asahel Gilbert.....	Trader.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled first near Juniata on the Big Blue river; moved to Potawatomie county in 1857. See reference to Mrs. Allen's "Journal," p. 145.
†Allen, Mrs. Chestina B.....	.....	Boston, Mass. ....	.....
.....	.....	.....	20 years old.
†Allen, William F.....	.....	.....	18 years old.
†Allen, Charles B.....	.....	.....	15 years old.
†Allen, Henrietta C.....	.....	.....	12 years old.
†Allen, John A.....	.....	.....	7 years old.
†Allen, Abby B.....	.....	.....	.....
*†Babcock, Alden.....	Farmer.....	Fall River, Mass.	Settled near Juniata in 1854.
Bigelow, Daniel A.....	Express.....	Marlborough, Mass. ....	.....
†Bigelow, Jonathan.....	Farmer.....	St. Albans, Maine.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
†Bigelow, Mrs. Mary A. and 2 children.....	.....	St. Albans, Maine.	Under 8 years; not listed in the 1855 census.
Bisbey, George R.....	Joiner.....	Pavilion, N. Y. ....	.....
Bisbey, Mrs. George R.....	.....	Pavilion, N. Y. ....	.....
Bisbey, Harvey.....	Farmer.....	Albion, N. Y.	Cousin of James M. Bisbey.
†Bisbey, James Monroe.....	Farmer.....	Alabama, N. Y.	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854.
†Bisbey, Mrs. Hannah.....	.....	Alabama, N. Y. ....	.....
†Bisbey, James M., Jr.....	.....	.....	14 years old.
†Bisbey, Charles.....	.....	.....	12 years old.
†Bisbey, John.....	.....	.....	.....
†Bisbey, Emma.....	.....	.....	.....
Blakeboro, James.....	Stonecutter.....	Quincy, Mass. ....	.....
†Bond, David P.....	Farmer.....	Holliston, Mass.	Served in Fifth Kansas cavalry, 1861-1865.
†Bond, Thomas P.....	Laborer.....	Holliston, Mass.	Settled in Douglas county.
†Bowden, Mrs. ——.....	.....	Utica, N. Y.	Mother-in-law of S. H. Ryan. On the manuscript lists she appears as "Mrs. Bonney"; she is listed as Mrs. Bowden in the 1855 census.
Bragg, William.....	Machinist.....	Fitchburg, Mass. ....	.....
*†Brayton, Israel P.....	Farmer.....	Fall River, Mass.	Returned to Massachusetts in May, 1855.
†Carpenter, A. O.....	Printer.....	Brattleboro, Vt. ....	.....
*†Carpenter, Chapin Howard.....	Carpenter.....	Brattleboro, Vt.	Sons of Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols by her first marriage. C. H. Carpenter settled in Wyandotte county; he married Sarah Jones of the Second Party of 1855, on April 5, 1855.
†Cary, George.....	Carpenter.....	Utica, N. Y.	Name is spelled "Carey" in the 1855 census; settled near Juniata in 1854.
†Cary, Mrs. Malvina A.....	.....	Utica, N. Y. ....	.....
†Cary, George W.....	.....	.....	.....
†Cary, Elizabeth M.....	.....	.....	.....
†Cary, Ida H.....	.....	.....	.....
Cobbam, William.....	Carpenter.....	Chelsea, Mass. ....	.....
Cobbam, Mrs. William and 1 child.....	.....	Chelsea, Mass. ....	.....
Coburn, George H.....	Clerk.....	Boston, Mass.	3 years old.

THE FOURTH PARTY—*Continued*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Colman, ^{ss} Ezekiel Andrus	Farmer.....	Holliston, Mass.....	Lived in Douglas county until 1894; served in Civil War; died in California in 1896.
†Colman, Mrs. Mary Jane		Holliston, Mass.	Drowned some time before 1860.
†Colman, Frank C.			Served in Civil War; lived in Lawrence.
†Colman, Alice			Married J. R. Topping; lived in Douglas county.
†Colman, Cosma T.			Lived in Douglas county.
†Colman, Mary A.			Killed in action, April 18, 1864; was first lieutenant, First Kansas colored infantry.
†Colman, Osgood A.			
†Colman, Charles Jackson			
Cutting, Alice.....			Left party at Carlinville, Ill.
Dearborn, John F.....	Clerk.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Denny, C. B.....		Rochester, N. Y.....	
*†Dudley, Sidney B.	Farmer.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county in 1854.
†Dudley, Mrs. Ann E.		Worcester, Mass.....	
Duggett, Nelson.....	Bootmaker.....	Buckfield, Maine.....	
Dunbar, Ruell.....	Shoemaker.....	Guilford, Vt.....	
Finch, William.....	Carpenter.....	Oxford, Mass.....	
Fitch, Josiah H.....		Worcester, Mass.....	Left party at St Louis.
Flagg, Hosea W.....	Blacksmith.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	
Fletcher, Willis H.....	Farmer.....	Goshen, N. H.....	
*†Folsom, Sumner.....	Farmer.....	Fayette, Maine.....	The 1854 election list and the 1855 census show a "Stephen H. Folsome[e]."
*†Gibbons, William C.....	Carpenter.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county in 1854; lived in Topeka in 1879.
Gifford, Daniel.....	Machinist.....	Fall River, Mass.....	
*†Gilbert, Mortimer.....	Joiner.....	Jackson, Mich.....	Joined party at Chicago.
*Gillpatrick, James.....	Baptist clergyman.....	Topsham, Maine.....	Came to Kansas as a missionary of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society; returned East in the fall of 1857; died in 1865.
Gillpatrick, William C.....		Topsham, Maine.....	18 years old; son of James.
Gilmore, Frederick A.....		Fitchburg, Mass.....	
*†Graves, Henry D.....	Farmer; mason.....	Guilford, Vt.....	Settled in Douglas county.
*†Grout, Chester C.....	Cabinetmaker.....	Brattleboro, Vt.....	
†Grout, Mrs. Chester C.		Brattleboro, Vt.....	
Grout, John M.....		Brattleboro, Vt.....	Brother of Chester C. Grout.
*†Hall, Hatch.....	Farmer.....	Springfield [Maine?]	Settled near Juniata in 1854.
Hall, Mrs. Hatch.....		Springfield [Maine?]	Died at Kansas City late in October, 1854.
†Hall, Alexander.....			
†Hall, Edward.....			
†Hall, Frederick.....			
†Hall, Leander.....			
†Hall, Mary.....			
Harmon, Henry.....	Farmer.....	Mendon, Mass.....	
Harmon, Mrs. Henry.....		Mendon, Mass.....	

53. Colman is the correct spelling, although it appears in many records as Coleman.

THE FOURTH PARTY—*Continued*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Harmon, Daniel.....			20 years old.
Harmon, Mary Ann.....			16 years old.
Harmon, Eliza.....			12 years old.
†Harrington, Mrs. Carrie.....		Massachusetts.....	Wife of Dr. S. C. Harrington of the First Party.
Harris, William H.....	Carpenter.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	
*†Hartwell, ^{**} Samuel N.....	Millwright.....	Sutton, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence.
†Havens, George.....	Machinist.....	Fall River, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Havens, Mrs. Amity W.....		Fall River, Mass.....	
†Havens, George F.....			17 years old.
†Havens, Jane E.....			14 years old.
†Havens, Mary E.....			
†Havens, Charles A.....			
†Havens, Julia E.....			
Hawes, Henry L.....	Farmer.....	Medway, Mass.....	
*†Herrick, Nathan.....		East Corinth, Maine.....	Father and mother of Nathan F. Herrick. Mr. Herrick died at Lawrence, October 10, 1855;
†Herrick, Mrs. Lois.....		East Corinth, Maine.....	Mrs. Herrick died at Lawrence, March 28, 1855.
*†Herrick, Nathan F.....	Farmer.....	E. Corinth, Maine.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Herrick, Mrs. Lydia A.....		E. Corinth, Maine.....	
†Herrick, Susan E.....			
†Herrick, Loammiia F.....			
†Herrick, William H. H.....			
Higgins, Hiram.....	Carpenter.....	Fair Haven, Mass.....	
†Hill, George Horace.....	Tanner.....	Charlestown, Mass.....	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854.
†Hill, Mrs. Martha Preston.....		Charlestown, Mass.....	
Hinds, Lewis L.....		Fitchburg, Mass.....	Left party at St. Louis.
Hoag, Francis E.....	Farmer.....	Woburn, Mass.....	Became proprietor of the American Hotel (the Aid Company hotel) in Kansas City, Mo., in 1855. Later settled at Auburn.
Hoag, Mrs. Susan.....		Woburn, Mass.....	
Hoag, Amelia.....		Woburn, Mass.....	
Hoag, Frank D.....		Woburn, Mass.....	
Hoag, ———.....		Woburn, Mass.....	
Holden, Marquis L.....	Painter.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	
Holden, Mrs. Marquis L and child.....		Fitchburg, Mass.....	
Holden, Mrs. Marquis L and child.....		Fitchburg, Mass.....	
Houston, Edwin R.....	Farmer.....	Hanover, N. H.....	
Howard, Waldo.....	Shoemaker.....	W. Bridgewater, Mass.....	
Howe, Bainbridge.....	Shoemaker.....	Framingham, Mass.....	
Howe, Elijah.....	Farmer.....	Marlborough, Mass.....	
*Howland, Enoch.....	Farmer.....	Topsham, Maine.....	
Howland, Mrs. Enoch.....		Topsham, Maine.....	
Hoyt, Thomas.....	Miller.....	Burlington, Vt.....	
Hutchinson, Silas L.....	Blacksmith.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	
Ide, George H.....	Clerk.....	W. Medway, Mass.....	Joined party at St. Louis.
Ingalls, John E.....	Carpenter.....	Somerville, Mass.....	Stayed in, or near Kansas City Mo.; lived there in 1856. See Ingalls' testimony (pp. 841, 842) in Report cited in Foot-note 3.
Ingalls, Mrs. John E.....		Somerville, Mass.....	
and 2 children.....			Under 4 years.

54. Samuel N. Hartwell's name appears on the list of the Second Party compiled by Lawrence pioneers. He did not come, however, with the Second Party, but is correctly listed above with the Fourth Party.—See his letter in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, p. 51.

THE FOURTH PARTY—Continued

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Jerauld, Samuel A.	Shoemaker....	Marlborough, Mass.....	
*†Johnson, Samuel G.	Machinist....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
*†Knapp, Lemuel.	Farmer....	St. Harman, N. Y.....	Settled at Pawnee; later moved to Riley county; died in November, 1862.
†Knapp, Mrs. Nancy A.		St. Harman, N. Y.....	Died at Ogden, February 24, 1858.
†Knapp, Cyrus W.			15 years old. Served in Civil War.
†Knapp, Almira E.			12 years old.
†Knapp, Samuel S.			11 years old. Served in Civil War.
†Knapp, George.			
†Knapp, Sarah C.			
†Knapp, E. E.			
†Knapp, E. W.			
†Lapham, Mrs. Mary.			
*†Lapham, Solomon L.	Shoemaker....	Auburn, Maine.	Mother of Solomon L. Lapham; settled in Douglas county.
Lawrence, William R.	Carriagemaker....	Shelburne, Mass.....	
†Leland, Joseph W.	Mechanic....	Fayette, Maine.....	Settled near Juniata in 1854.
†Leonard, George L.	Machinist....	Franklin, Mass.....	
†Leonard, Hartford P.	Blacksmith....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854; later lived in Riley county.
†Leonard, Mrs. Mary.			
†Lewis, George B.		Salem, Mass.....	Brother-in-law of G. H. Hill; settled at Wabaunsee in 1854.
Marshall, George M.	Machinist....	Williston, Vt.....	
*†Miller, John H.	Farmer....	Holliston, Mass.....	Lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
†Miller, John H., Jr.		Holliston, Mass.....	
Millett, Joseph E.	Farmer; teacher	Charleston, Maine	
†Morgan, Mrs. Asenath P.		S. Framingham, Mass.....	Wife and children of Jonathan F. Morgan of the First Party.
†Morgan, Edward W.			Died at Lawrence, April 3, 1855.
†Morgan, Leander F.			Lived in Lawrence in 1879.
†Morgan, Gilbert H.			Died at Kansas City, Mo., November 19, 1854.
†Morgan, Emma A.			
*†Morse, Von Rensselaer.	Teacher....	Derry, N. H.....	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854.
†Muzzy, Franklin A.	Painter....	Worcester, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Muzzy, Hammond C.	Farmer....	Worcester, Mass.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Nichols, Mrs. Clarina Irene (Howard)....	Editress....	Brattleboro, Vt.....	Left in December, 1854; returned in spring of 1855; settled in Wyandotte county; later moved to California; leader in woman's rights movement; one of Kansas' notable women.
*†Pettengill, Hugh.	Farmer....	Auburn, Maine.....	Settled in Douglas county; served in Civil War, 1861-1862.
†Pettengill, Mrs. Zynthia.		Auburn, Maine.....	Died at Lawrence, February 13, 1855.
Pettengill, Clarrie.			
*†Pettengill, Oren.	Farmer....	Auburn, Maine.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Pierce, Virgil L.	Bootmaker....	Auburn, Maine.....	
†Powers, Amos H.	Farmer....	Deer Isle, Maine.....	Nephew of Moody B. Powers; settled in present Riley county.
*†Powers, Moody B.	Farmer....	Deer Isle, Maine.....	Settled on Blue river, in present Pottawatomie county.
†Powers, Mrs. Abigail H.		Deer Isle, Maine.....	
†Powers, Almira N.			
†Powers, Augusta A.			
†Powers, Moody.			

THE FOURTH PARTY—Continued

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
†Powers, Milton.....			
†Powers, Abba E.....			
†Powers, Morrill.....			
Preston, John A.....	Carpenter.....	Framingham, Mass.....	
Richardson, Benjamin S.....	Printer.....	Springfield, Mass.....	
Roatch, F. W.....	Farmer.....	Batavia, N. Y.....	
Roby, George N.....	India rubber business.....	Roxbury, Mass.....	Nephew of Mrs. Chestina B. Allen.
Ruggles, George H.....	Cabinetmaker.....	Dorchester, Mass.....	
†Ryan, Simon H.....	Confectioner.....	Utica, N. Y.....	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854.
†Ryan, Mrs. Simon H.....		Utica, N. Y.....	
†Ryan, Julia.....			
†Ryan, Alida.....			
†Ryan, James Ellis.....			
*†Sawin, Calvin H.....	Trader.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854; lived in Lawrence in February, 1855.
†Sawin, Mrs. Frances Burton.....		Fitchburg, Mass.....	
†Sawin, Arabella Maria.....			Died at Wabaunsee, August 13, 1855.
†Sawin, Harriet Francis.....			Died at Wabaunsee, August 13, 1855.
†Sawin, Herbert Franklin.....			
†Sawin, James Calvin.....			
Schofield, William.....	Weaver.....	Oxford, Mass.....	
†Shalling, Frederick G.....	Machinist.....	Fall River, Mass.....	Appears as "Schalling" in 1855 census.
Smith, Lafayette.....	Farmer.....	New Salem, Mass.....	
*†Stearns, Charles.....	Publisher.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence.
Stone, F. R.....	Hatter.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	
*†Stratton, Harris, Jr.....	Shoe business.....	Northfield, Mass.....	
*†Tabor, Jonathan F.....	Stonecutter.....	Quincy, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence. Brother of H. A. W. Tabor (see First Spring Party of 1855), who later became a millionaire from Colorado mining ventures.
†Tabor, Mrs. Martha.....		Quincy, Mass.....	
†Tabor, Charles W.....			2 years old.
†Tay, Samuel.....	Farmer.....	Corinth, Maine.....	Settled at Wabaunsee in 1854.
Thurston, Elisha M.....	Teacher; surveyor.....	Charleston, Maine.....	A founder of Canton—a townsite included in the organization of Manhattan in 1855; died 1859.
*Tilton, George.....	Farmer.....	Monmouth, Maine.....	
Titus, Nathaniel G.....	Farmer.....	Foster, R. I.....	
Titus, Mrs. Nathaniel G.....		Foster, R. I.....	
Titus, James A.....			22 years old.
Titus, Susan.....			15 years old.
Titus, John.....			11 years old.
Titus, George C.....			8 years old.
Tower, R. E.....	Carpenter.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Left party at St. Louis.
Tranbe, John Levi.....	Clerk.....		
*†Tripp, Edwin M.....	Machinist.....	Fall River, Mass.....	Lived in vicinity of Fort Riley in early part of 1855.
Walker, Henry H.....	Carpenter.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Left party at Carlinville, Ill.
Walker, Mrs. Henry H.....		Worcester, Mass.....	

THE FOURTH PARTY—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Whitehorn, ⁵⁵ Samuel.....	Physician.....	New York.....	Settled at Manhattan; served in Civil War.
Whittemore, Charles F.....	Machinist.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	.....
*†Wickes, William D.....	Teacher.....	Millersburgh, Ky.....	.....
†Wickes, Mrs. Mary E.....		Millersburgh, Ky.....	Infant.
†Wickes, Mary E.....			
*Wilbur, John.....	Shoemaker.....	Freetown, Maine.....	Settled near Juniata in 1854.
†Wilcox, Horace A.....	Physician.....	Rhode Island.....	A founder of Canton—a townsite included in the organization of Manhattan in 1855.
Wilcox, William R.....	Farmer.....	Norwich, Conn.....	.....
*Willard, George O.....	Farmer.....	Cambridge, Mass.....	Settled at Juniata in 1854.
*Williams, James.....	Farmer.....	St. Johnsbury, Vt.....	.....
Williams, Mrs. James.....		St. Johnsbury, Vt.....	.....
and 4 children.....			The oldest was 8 years old.
Wilson, George.....	Farmer.....	Marlborough, Mass.....	.....
Woolson, Nathan.....	Farmer.....	Hopkinton, Mass.....	.....
Woolson, Lemuel C.....		Hopkinton, Mass.....	10 years old; son of Nathan.
Wyckoff, William K.....	Clerk.....	O[R]will[e], N. Y.....	.....
Yeomans, Charles H.....	Carpenter.....	Norwich, Conn.....	.....
Yeomans, Mrs. Charles H.....			

Chief sources used in compiling this list: Two manuscript lists appearing consecutively in a small record book in the Emigrant Aid Collection, *loc. cit.*; "Webb Scrapbooks," *loc. cit.*; Allen, Mrs. Chestina B., "Sketches and Journal,"—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

* Voted in the first election held in Kansas territory, November 29, 1854.

† Listed in the first census of Kansas territory, 1855.

Although the Fourth Party did not leave Boston until mid-October the lateness of the season did not prevent this company from being the largest of the year. It finally numbered, on arrival at Kansas City, 230 individuals, among whom were many women and children.

Thomas H. Webb reported to the Emigrant Aid Company trustees that the Fourth Party "took their departure from the Western Rail Road Depot, on Tuesday the 17th . . . [of October] at 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ o'clock P. M., accompanied by J. M. S. Williams Esqr. . . ." ⁵⁶ Williams went only as far as Detroit. The 124 who started from Boston were augmented by numerous additions of Massachusetts and New York emigrants as the train proceeded westward. Charles

55. Dr. Samuel Whitehorn does not appear on the manuscript list of the Fourth Party, but Mrs. Chestina B. Allen in her "Sketches and Journal," *loc. cit.*, states that he was in the company.

56. "Trustees' Records," v. I, twelfth meeting, October 21, 1854, *loc. cit.* J. M. S. Williams was one of the Aid Company trustees.

H. Branscomb, on his way back after conducting the Third Party, met the Fourth Party at Detroit and accompanied them to Kansas City. They reached St. Louis on October 22 and the following day began their journey on the steamboat *Sam Cloon* to Kansas City. After a slow trip, because of low water in the Missouri river, they arrived on October 28. Wrote one observer:

The fourth party . . . reached this place [Kansas City] last Saturday eve. It was one of the exciting scenes which are so often seen upon the borders of a new country. After they were all ashore there began the rush for the hotel. I among several others held a room which I had spoke for about three hours before the arrival. I went out to see the rush, and when I went back to my room I found it occupied by a man, his wife and four children. Subm[it]ting with a good grace to that which I could not remedy, I took my blanket and slept soundly on a pile of straw in one corner of the attic. The company as yet have not concluded what to do.⁵⁷

As in the case of the Third Party, there were many complaints that the Emigrant Aid Company had failed to fulfill promises, and that it had misrepresented conditions in Kansas. George O. Willard wrote:

I was one of the company which left Boston Oct. 17th, under the *protection* of the "Emigrant Aid Company." If the agents of this concern continue to send East reports in regard to this country, *so different* from the actual state of things here, it will greatly deter freemen from Eastern States from emigrating hither. We were told by Messrs. Caswell, Webb & Co., in Boston, that wherever we stopped on our journey, suitable accommodations would be prepared at half the usual price. Also, that our meals on the road need not average 20 cents per meal; that when we arrived in Kansas City we could immediately enter a hotel, conducted by their agents, and remain for half price until we had been into the Territory and selected our claims. How did we find these things? When we arrived in Albany, at half past 12 P.M., we had good accommodations. After this no arrangements whatever were made, that I could learn. At Chicago we were coolly informed, at 1 o'clock P.M., that no hotel in the place could keep us. Consequently, two car loads remained in the cars all night. The rest wandered about the streets, some going to hotels and paying \$2 for a breakfast and lodging. Coming up the Missouri, we were stowed into a miserable old boat, already half full, and about 75 of us slept on the floor, and many of us found our own blankets. At St. Louis we were told by Mr. Slater, one of the company's agents, that what provisions and other articles we might purchase should go up the river for \$1 per hundred pounds. Instead of this, we were forced to pay \$1.62 and \$2 per hundred, and 25 cents storage on every article. Arriving at Kansas City, we were ushered into a house capable of holding about 150 persons. This, too, was half full. Some 75 or 100 slept on the floor, and 20 of us went to the stable and turned in on the hay. For these *accommodations* we were obliged to pay

57. Letter dated October 30, 1854, signed G. W. H. [possibly G. W. Hewes of the First Party], published in the *Essex Banner*, Haverhill, Mass.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. II, p. 14.

in advance. Such have been the arrangements which we have met throughout at the hands of this company. We paid for, and were told we should have first class passage, instead of which we barely got third-rate. Of our company, which numbered 230 when we landed, I do not think 100 can be found in the territory. But few were dissatisfied with the country, but the cost of living was so much *more* than they had been told at the east, that many became discouraged and returned. In fact, while we were coming out we met a number of the previous company returning.⁵⁸

A large number of the Fourth Party went from Kansas City to Lawrence, to look over the prospects for settlement in the surrounding territory. Wrote Harvey Abbott of the disposition of the company:

Some procured houses for their families at Kanzas City, some few scattered away on their own "hook," and four or five turned back before reaching Lawrence, but at least 150 of them were there over the Sabbath, Nov. 5th, besides about fifty of a party from Ohio, that came up on Saturday night. A part of this 200 only could have room to lay down in the big thatched tent called the "meeting house," some had tents of their own, made of cotton cloth, while others were obliged to lay upon the ground without shelter, with the thermometer at 30 degrees.

Our party were waiting the return of their committee of an exploration, chosen some days before, and had gone to Big Blue, about 75 miles from there. . . .⁵⁹

Charles Robinson wrote the Emigrant Aid Company trustees on November 4 that the Fourth Party had decided to locate on Rock creek, "a small stream between the Vermillion and little Vermillion rivers."⁶⁰ Very little information is available concerning this short-lived settlement and its location. John Doy, of the First Party, wrote from Lawrence on December 1: "A number of the emigrants have formed a village at a place called Rock Creek. This place is about 75 miles west of us, a fine country, but rather short of timber."⁶¹ The site was in what is now Pottawatomie county and may have been at the point where the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military road crossed Rock creek (i. e., present Louisville). The names of most of those of the Fourth Party who settled there were signed to the following document:

Rock Creek, Kansas Territory,
November 12, 1854.

Resolved; That we, members of the 4th Kansas party which left Boston, Oct. 17th, have not lost our confidence in the resources of this territory. We

58. Letter dated January 7, 1855, to the [Boston?] *Journal*.—Undated clipping in "Kansas Territorial Clippings," v. I, pp. 53-55, in Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

59. Boston *Evening Telegraph*, November 23, 1854.

60. "Trustees' Records," v. I, fifteenth meeting, November 22, 1854, *loc. cit.*

61. New York *Tribune*.—Undated clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. II, p. 52.

admire its beautiful scenery, and are convinced of the healthfulness of its climate, and the fertility of its soil, and we advise our friends to emigrate here in the spring. But in our candid opinion the "Emigrant Aid Company" have erred in failing to present the dark, as well as the bright side of the condition of things here. In particular we lament that no more provision has been made by it for the temporary accommodation of emigrants, and that no more efforts have been put forth to select locations for parties arriving here, and that misrepresentations have been made respecting the price of provisions and the cost of living. As an act of justice to our friends east, who propose coming here, we would caution them against too much reliance on said company. Signed: L. Knapp, G. N. Roby, N. G. Titus, G. O. Willard, C. Stearns, I. A. Titus, W. Schoffield, L. L. Saphan, F. G. Schalling, T. Hoyt, G. N. Marshall, A. H. Powers, M. B. Powers, E. Howland, H. Pettingell, S. Johnson, H. Hammond, D. Hammond, G. Tilton, T. Whitehorn, M. D., N. Woolson, W. D. Wickes, W. R. Wickoff, M. D., F. E. Hoad, H. Hall, J. W. Leland. Being every member then and there present.⁶²

George O. Willard in sending a copy of the resolutions to the [Boston?] *Journal* wrote: "Our Secretary, C. Stearns, was told at Lawrence, the town started by the Aid Company, that if he sent those resolutions east, a coat composed of tar and feathers would be prepared for him and applied. He said he should send them, but whether he has done so or not I do not know."

Before the election held November 29, 1854, this group seems to have dispersed from Rock creek. Some returned to Lawrence; some remained in present Pottawatomie county, but moved westward to the vicinity of the Big Blue river. Several settled at Juniata. George O. Willard described this place in his letter of January 7, 1855, which he headed "Juniata, (on the 'Big Blue River')":

. . . A town site has been laid off here, and settlers are coming from nearly every State in the Union; about fifty families are here now. The town is on the "Blue River," about five miles from its mouth, and the same distance from the Kansas River, and about 125 miles from the mouth of that river. We are also about twenty miles from Fort Riley. Various tribes of roving Indians are scattered about us, but they are generally peaceable. . . . Provisions of all kinds are very dear here at this time. Potatoes and butter we do not get at all. Wages are pretty fair. Any kind of a mechanic will make money here another spring.

Game is abundant—I have seen 8 deer in one herd. Turkeys and squirrels are also plenty; quails and prairie hens are abundant. The river is filled with fish weighing from one to one hundred pounds. I ate a portion of one caught in the Kansas, which weighed 76 pounds. There is no ice in the river at this place now. We have a bridge across the Blue river here 300 feet long, built

62. Resolutions published with G. O. Willard's letter of January 7, 1855.—Clipping from [Boston?] *Journal*, loc. cit. The following names are incorrect above: J. A. Titus, Solomon L. Lapham, G. M. Marshall, Henry Harmon, Daniel Harmon, and Samuel Whitehorn.

by government. The military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley passes here.⁶³

In the census of Kansas territory taken in January and February, 1855, these members of the Fourth Party are listed as living in the vicinity of Juniata: Asahel G. Allen and family, Samuel Whitehorn, M. D., Israel P. Brayton, John Wilbur, Alden Babcock, Hatch Hall and family, Moody B. Powers and family, Amos H. Powers, Horace A. Wilcox and Joseph W. Leland.

Horace A. Wilcox, late in 1854, joined with Elisha M. Thurston (also of the Fourth Party) and three other men in locating a town site near the mouth of the Big Blue river which they called Canton. This site was included the following spring in the formation of Manhattan. Dr. Samuel Whitehorn also had a part in the founding of Manhattan.

Another group of pioneers in the Fourth Party selected claims in present Wabaunsee county.⁶⁴ In the census of 1855, eighth district, is a list headed "Census of Wabaunsee, Feb. 26, 1855." Most of the names on it are those of members of the Fourth Emigrant Aid Party: George H. Hill and wife, Von Rensselaer Morse, George B. Lewis, Samuel Tay, Hartford P. Leonard and wife, James M. Bisbey and family, Calvin H. Sawin and family, Simon H. Ryan and family. There is also the name of Charles P. Farnsworth of the Third Party.

Lemuel Knapp and family, and Edwin M. Tripp settled in the vicinity of Fort Riley. Practically all the rest of the Fourth Party who remained in Kansas territory are listed in the 1855 census as living in, or near Lawrence.

Among the feminine members of this company was Mrs. Clarina I. Howard Nichols, champion of woman's rights, and one of Kansas' most famous women. With her were two sons by her first marriage, A. O. and C. H. Carpenter. Mrs. Nichols went back to Vermont in December, 1854, but returned the following spring⁶⁵ to make Kansas her home for a number of years.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 54. Samuel F. Dyer, with his family, came to run the government ferry at the military road crossing of the Big Blue river in the latter part of 1853. By late 1854 pioneers from a number of states had settled in the vicinity of Juniata.

64. *The Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, January 24, 1855, carried this item: "Wauponsa. Messrs. S. H. Ryan and J. M. Bisbee of Wauponsa called upon us last week. They give very flattering accounts of that place. . . . It is located at the mouth of Big Creek, on the south side of the Kansas river, 65 miles above Lawrence. . . ."

65. See roster of the Second Spring Party of 1855, to be published in the August issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

THE FIFTH PARTY

(Departed from Boston, November 7, 1854; arrived at Kansas City, November 19, 1854; Jerome B. Taft, conductor.)

No roster of this party has been located, nor is the size of the group on its arrival in Kansas City known. The names of those who have been positively identified as members of the Fifth Party are listed below.

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
†Chase, Enoch.....	Mechanic.....	Newburyport, Mass.....	One of the founders of Topeka.
†Chase, Jacob B.....	Farmer.....	Newburyport, Mass.....	One of the founders of Topeka.
†Cook, Simeon.....	Laborer.....	Salem, N. H.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Cook, Mrs. Bettie.....		Salem, N. H.....	
†Cook, Mary E.....		Salem, N. H.....	
†Davis, George.....	Farmer.....	Vermont.....	One of the founders of Topeka.
†Dickey, Milton C.....	Mechanic.....	New Hampshire.....	One of the founders of Topeka.
Duston, Mr. ——.....		Salem, N. H.....	Probably returned East.
†Hickey, ⁶⁶ James A.....	Farmer.....	Brandon, Vt.....	Settled in Topeka.
†Merriam, ⁶⁷ James F.....	Dentist.....	Vermont.....	Settled in Topeka.
Russell, ⁶⁸ ——.....			
†Soule, Amasa.....		Chelsea, Mass.....	Promoter of the Descandum Kansas Improvement Company. See <i>The Kansas Historical Quarterly</i> , v. VIII, pp. 342-349.
†Soule, William L. G.....	Farmer.....	Chelsea, Mass.....	Son of Amasa Soule.
Spencer, L. B.....			Probably returned East.
†Stewart, John E.....	Farmer.....	Salem, N. H.....	Settled in Douglas county.
†Stewart, Mrs. Mary A.....		Salem, N. H.....	
†Stewart, Ann M.....		Salem, N. H.....	
†Stewart, Mary A.....		Salem, N. H.....	
†Taft, Jerome B.....	Farmer.....	Boston, Mass.....	Conductor of the party.
†Taft, Mrs. Julia.....		Boston, Mass.....	Died in Lawrence on May 1, 1855.

† Listed in the census of Kansas territory taken in January and February, 1855.

The Boston *Telegraph* of November 7, 1854, carried this mention of the departure of the Fifth Emigrant Aid Party:

At 2½ o'clock today, by the Worcester and Western Railroads, the fourth [!] Kansas party from this city took its departure for the new territory. The company consisted of fifty-five adults, with but four or five women, and a very few children—a class of emigrants strongly recommended by the association for this trip, in view of the lateness of the season. They are hardy,

66. James Hickey made this statement in May, 1856: "I came into the Territory on the 27th of November, 1854, spent a week in Lawrence, and got to Topeka about the 12th or 14th of December, and have resided there ever since."—Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas, [Sec. II] p. 205.

67. James F. Merriam made this statement in May, 1856: "I came into this Territory from Vermont. I came out in company with a young man by the name of Hickey. At Albany we fell in company with some 80 or 100 more, who were coming out here, and we came out with them. There was one man who might be called a leader, named Taft, who made arrangements for the party. They were not known by any particular name or organization."—*Ibid.*, p. 208.

68. Russell is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 867.

resolute men, and will do good service. Accessions will be made at Worcester, Springfield and other points on the route. This party is under the charge of Mr. Jerome B. Taft, who has been in the territory before, and who will return in the spring for his family. . . .⁶⁹

Of the journey Amasa Soule wrote:

We left Boston as you recollect, on Tuesday, the 7th inst., and on Saturday [November 11] . . . we arrived at St. Louis, where we went immediately on board a Steamer, which did not leave until Monday noon. When we started from St. Louis, we began to think we were near the end of our journey; but the most tedious business that I ever engaged in was that same passage up the Missouri—that river of mud, crooks and shoals. The water being very low, we were subjected, some days, almost hourly, to being grounded upon the sand bars, that are continually shifting, so that no pilot can clear them. We were until Sunday following [November 19] reaching Kansas City. . . .⁷⁰

While on board this steamboat, the *Australia*, the company adopted resolutions in praise of the conductor of the party, Jerome B. Taft. This document was dated November 18, 1854, and signed by L. B. Spencer, president, and James F. Merriam, secretary.⁷¹

On arriving at Kansas City, some of the party found accommodations for a time at the Emigrant Aid Company hotel. Others, with families, were advised by Samuel C. Pomeroy, company agent, to take their families to Parkville, Mo., where the women and children might remain while the men explored Kansas territory for a place to settle. According to John E. Stewart, quite a number of the Fifth Party, especially the young men, became homesick the first week and returned East.⁷²

Amasa Soule and others of the company arrived at Lawrence on November 23. Soule and his son, the John E. Stewart family and the Simeon Cook family all found claims in the vicinity of Lawrence.

Charles Robinson, member of the Second Party and agent for the Emigrant Aid Company, had explored the country along the Kansas river with a view to locating future parties of emigrants. One of the most promising locations was the site of present Topeka. It was to this place he directed four members of the Fifth Party. These men were Enoch Chase, Jacob B. Chase,⁷³ Milton

69. Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks" v. II, p. 5. According to Thomas H. Webb, Emigrant Aid Company secretary, there were 62 persons in this party leaving Boston.

70. Letter dated November 25, 1854, published in the *Chelsea (Mass.) Telegraph & Pioneer*.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 61.

71. Published in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 6, 1855.

72. Statement of John E. Stewart, in Hyatt Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

73. Although from the same town, Jacob and Enoch Chase were not related.

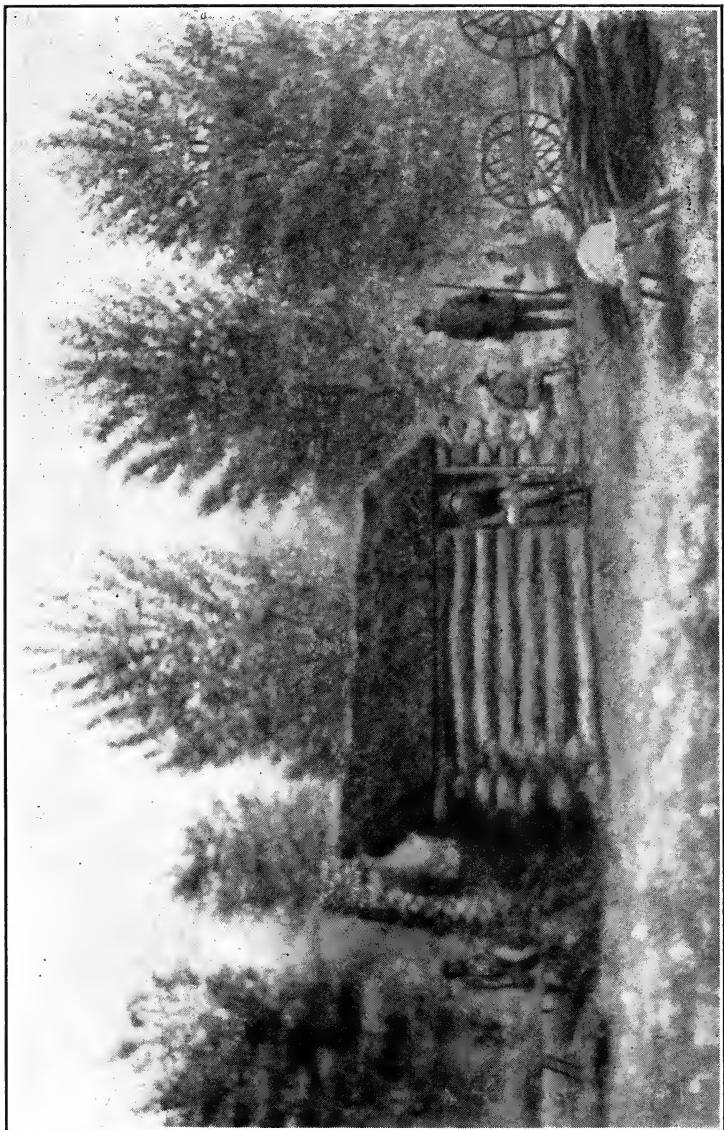
C. Dickey and George Davis. They arrived and made land claims on November 29, 1854. Several members of the Sixth Party who arrived in Lawrence early in December joined them in founding the town of Topeka.⁷⁴ Two other members of the Fifth Party, Dr. James F. Merriam, and James A. Hickey, settled in Topeka before the middle of December, 1854.

THE SIXTH PARTY

(Departed from Boston, November 21, 1854; Charles H. Branscomb, conductor.)

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Brown, Charles		Norton, Mass.	
Brown, Leonard G.		New Hampshire.	
Clark, S. A.			One of the founders of Topeka.
†Cleveland, Loring G.	Farmer.	New York.	One of the founders of Topeka.
Crowe, George F.			
†[Gilbert, Mrs. Elizabeth S.]		Cayuga county, N. Y.	Wife of George Gilbert of the Second Party.
†Giles, Fry William.	Farmer.	New Hampshire.	One of the founders of Topeka.
Gorton, George.		New Hampshire.	
†Greenwood, Jonas E.	Mechanic.	N. Turner Bridge, Maine.	One of the founders of Topeka.
†Horne, Daniel Hussey.		Dover, N. H.	One of the founders of Topeka.
†Hutchinson, George W.	Clergyman.	W. Randolph, Vt.	Was also member of the First Party.
†Jones, Ira M.	Farmer.	W. Randolph, Vt.	Was also member of the First Party.
Leadbetter, Ezekiel C.		Massachusetts.	
†Liniker, William C.	Mechanic.	Boston, Mass.	One of the founders of Topeka.
†McIntire, Timothy.	Mechanic; stone-mason.	New Hampshire.	One of the founders of Topeka;
†McIntire, Mrs. Catherine J.		New Hampshire.	moved to Lyon county in 1858;
†McIntire, Elizabeth J.		New Hampshire.	removed to Arkansas City in
†McIntire, George H.		New Hampshire.	1870; served in 1872 legislature.
†McIntire, Albert T.		New Hampshire.	
†McIntire, Charles M.		New Hampshire.	
†Mallory, Mrs. Elizabeth L.		Worcester, Mass.	Wife and daughter of Anson Mallory of the First Party.
†Mallory, Jennie L.		Worcester, Mass.	
Mathews, R.		Boston, Mass.	
Morse, S. J.		Vermont.	
Ralph, Nathan H.		Holyoke, Mass.	
Smith, Moses.		Maine.	
Somer, Walter.		Vermont.	Possibly "Lomer," rather than "Somer."
†Thornton, Thomas G.	Lawyer.	Maine.	One of the founders of Topeka.

74. See account of the Sixth Party.



FIRST HOUSE IN TOPEKA, 1854

This picture is reproduced from a painting made by Henry Worrall in 1870 from specifications furnished by F. W. Giles, one of the founders of the town. Giles wrote: "It is a true representation of the original cabin and its surroundings, as they existed during the winter of 1854-5, to the most minute detail." The painting hangs in the museum of the Kansas State Historical Society. Nearly all the members of the Topeka town company, organized December 5, 1854, came with the Fifth and Sixth Parties of the Emigrant Aid Company. The cabin was located at what is now the northwest corner of First street and Kansas avenue.



THE SIXTH PARTY—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Ware, William L.	Needham, Mass. ....	.....
Weymouth, William H.	Exeter, N. H.	Spent winter of 1854-1855 in St. Louis; arrived in Topeka, where he settled, about March 1, 1855; died in Topeka in 1888.

Compiled from manuscript roster in a record book in the Emigrant Aid Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society, and other sources. Mrs. Gilbert's name does not appear on the roster, but the date of her arrival has been verified from another source.

† Listed in the first census of Kansas territory taken in January and February, 1855.

On November 27, 1854, Thomas H. Webb wrote Agent Charles Robinson:

The Sixth and last Party for the season left this city on the 21st inst. under the charge of Mr. Branscomb, who contemplates returning to spend the winter in New England. Considering the lateness of the season, no efforts were made to get up a Party; and we discouraged, as we had done, for a month previously, women and children being taken out. We shall renew the emigrating business as early in the ensuing year as our friends at the West may deem it advisable.⁷⁵

B. Slater, agent at St. Louis, wrote on November 25 that the Sixth Party numbering some 30 persons had arrived on that day, and immediately proceeded up the Missouri river on the steamboat *Genoa*. He also mentioned that William H. Weymouth of the party, suffering from smallpox, had remained in St. Louis.⁷⁶

Excerpts from Leonard G. Brown's letter give some details of the journey:

Missouri, Nov. 26, 1854.

I am in the steamboat *Genoa*, going up the Missouri river; there are about one hundred and fifty persons on board, besides the crew. About three-fourths are going to Kansas. . . .

I have shed no tears yet, but enjoy myself first-rate. I paid twenty-two dollars for my passage to St. Louis, and from there to Kansas city, fourteen. They have charged heretofore only ten dollars, but it costs more to go up late in the season. It will cost me about forty dollars.

Four young men of us are going to club together and build a house, and live together, till next spring, and work together on our respective farms. Perhaps you would like to know what kind of a time we have on board the steamboat. While I am writing, some are playing cards, smoking cigars, chewing tobacco, drinking spirit, and some are talking, and others are writing and reading. I have not seen any of the Kansas party drink any liquor. There is one doctor, one minister, shoemakers, carpenters, wheelwrights, farmers, &c.

75. "Letter Press Books," v. [I], Emigrant Aid Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

76. "Trustees' Records," v. I, sixteenth meeting, December 2, 1854, *loc. cit.* William H. Weymouth recovered from his illness and reached Topeka about March 1, 1855.

Quite a number are from Maine; one man from there has his wife and four children. Some women are going to meet their husbands; some have left their families behind, and are going out to pick their farm, and build a house, and then they will send for their families. When we arrived at Kansas city, we were told that provisions were very high; corn was two dollars per bushel, and hard to get at that; flour twelve dollars a barrel. This city is in Missouri, four miles from the mouth of the Kansas river, and it is fifty miles from Lawrence city, where we have to go, and we were told that the timber claims were all taken up, and that we should have to go twenty miles above Lawrence city. . . .⁷⁷

On the roster of the Sixth Party are the names of two men who were in the First Emigrant Aid Party—George W. Hutchinson and Ira M. Jones. Aside from these two, and Mrs. Anson Mallory and daughter, all of whom had interests in Lawrence, the remainder of the Sixth Party who stayed in Kansas, joined with four men of the Fifth Party and founded the town of Topeka.

According to historical accounts, Loring G. Cleveland, George F. Crowe, Fry W. Giles, Jonas E. Greenwood, Daniel H. Horne, S. A. Clark, William C. Liniker, Timothy McIntire and Thomas G. Thornton, all of the Sixth Party, reached Lawrence on December 2, 1854, after walking from Kansas City. There they met Charles Robinson, Aid Company agent, Cyrus K. Holliday, from Pennsylvania, and Milton C. Dickey of the Fifth Party. They discussed the new town site (not yet named Topeka) some twenty-five miles up the Kansas river and decided to send a committee to investigate it. The committee found the location ideal. On December 5, they held a meeting and organized a town company. C. K. Holliday was made president. Those who signed the agreement were C. K. Holliday, F. W. Giles, Daniel H. Horne, George Davis, Enoch Chase, J. B. Chase, M. C. Dickey, L. G. Cleveland. Charles Robinson was made an honorary member of the town company. The rest of the Sixth Party remaining in Lawrence soon arrived and work was begun on living quarters for the winter.

Late in December, Samuel F. Tappan, member of the First Party and a Lawrence settler, paid "Topeka" a visit and described it in a letter dated December 22, 1854:

Mr. Editor:—In my last communication I promised to furnish you with a description of a visit to a new town laid out by some of the members of the fifth and sixth parties, on the banks of the Kansas river, twenty-five miles above this point. A good opportunity for going presented itself day before

77. Published in the *Lynn (Mass.) News*, December 22, 1854.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. II, p. 93. Brown probably did not settle in Kansas. He is not listed in the 1855 census.

yesterday, and availing myself of it, I took up my bed and rode up to the site of the new city. . . .

At the new city we found entertainment at one of the log cabins, which was partaken of in true pioneer style—ten of us seated on the ground, with a trunk or a box for a table, and a blazing fire in the sod fireplace at one end of said cabin. . . .

During the evening we visited a neighboring cabin made of sticks, prairie hay and mud, with no window, and nothing but a "cotton cloth door." . . . We passed the evening in a social chat in the hovel, until the hour arrived for us to make up our bed on the "hard ground," which was done by spreading buffalo robes, blankets, etc., in front of the fire. . . .

Early in the morning we were awakened by the cook, who wanted the room occupied by our party to perform the duties of his station. I went out to view the city and for a ride on the prairie. The proposed limits of the city is two miles east and west on the south bank of the Kansas river, and one and a half miles north and south upon the prairie. The surveyor, Mr. Searl . . . [of Lawrence], has partly surveyed the city out into lots 75 by 150 feet—the levee to be 130 feet wide, and four of the principal avenues of the same width; the remainder of the streets to be 80 feet wide. The Association owning the city numbers, or is to number, fifty members. An interest in the city has been presented to Governor Reeder. It is intended by the Association to name their city "Topeka," the name given to the river by the Indians. It signifies, as I have been told, "wild potatoes," some of which grow on its banks. Land is reserved for public purposes, etc. One quarter of the lots are reserved to the Emigrant Aid Co., and one quarter to be given away to persons who will agree to put a sufficient amount of improvements upon them. . . .⁷⁸

78. Published in the Boston *Journal*, January 22, 1855.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. II, pp. 201, 202.

The Soft Winter Wheat Boom and the Agricultural Development of the Upper Kansas River Valley

Third Installment

JAMES C. MALIN

SUBHUMID ENVIRONMENT AND THE NECESSITY OF COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE

IN THE presentation of the problem of adaptation of agriculture to a subhumid environment, the thought has been kept constantly in mind that a good case may be spoiled by claiming too much, by over-statement, and failure to make careful discriminations. Certain things are characteristic of all frontiers or of agriculture anywhere in temperate climates; others are peculiar to subhumid environments alone; still others affect both types of environments, but differently, being usable or convenient for living in the humid environment, but essential to the subhumid environment in order to survive at all.

In the humid, timbered Eastern portion of the continent the most substantial part of the necessities for the making of the farm home of the first pioneers was a free gift of nature, already on the ground, and available only at the cost of a man's labor in utilization. The labor cost was heavy and in consequence life was not idyllic but time and labor did not cost money. There was little surplus produced for outside markets, but nature, with some encouragement, provided the means of transportation—livestock might be driven or commodities moved over waterways. In the subhumid region, however, nature supplied only the land, and allowing for the transition belt between humid and arid, man was required to provide all the materials and facilities by artificial (man devised) means, or mostly by importation from other regions, commodities and services which required out-of-pocket capital, and even though only in small amounts in each individual operation, the sum total was substantial. For dwelling purposes timber was imported from outside. For fences, after using for a time Osage orange hedge fences in the transition country, barbed wire was invented and imported from outside, and even posts had to be imported. Natural fuels were either negligible or were quickly exhausted, and dependence upon

coal from outside was imperative. This accounts for the enthusiasm with which every indication of coal, however slight, was always exploited in the press. It meant the possibility of essential fuel and the elusive hope of industrial development to process commodities at home and to free the region from paying tribute to the outside world for all essentials. It is this that gives significance to the decision of Salina in 1889, so vehemently expressed after the failure of the industrial boom, that it was useless, with existing resources, to talk of manufactures until the fuel question was solved. The Henry Oltman "coal bank" was ridiculed when urged as a new source of fuel—the editor spoke from experience in pointing out that about every five years for at least the last twenty this same "coal bank" had been promoted in a similar fashion—the development of fuel requirements called for capital not wind, he reminded his readers, and Salina should bore for gas or coal in hopes of locating an adequate fuel supply.¹

As late as 1877 a Manhattan editor was discussing the question of "What Shall We Burn?" in terms of wood and coal:

The indications are, that at no distant period, the denizens of Manhattan will discard the use of wood for fuel, almost altogether, and burn coal. To the great neglect of their fortunes, the farmers prefer to sit around the fire on stormy days, when any number of cold-looking men may be seen prancing around town, ready to sacrifice their last nickel for a load of wood. On a bright day, there is plenty of wood in town, but the average Manhattanite thinks he does not need wood just then, which leaves the disgusted countryman to stand around nearly all day, knocking his heels together, and swearing that he will be "gol dummed" if he ever brings another load of wood to town. The next stormy day finds the citizen trading off his wood stove for a coal burner and making a business call on Mr. Howard. This will be a good thing for promoting the growth of timber in this country, and the development of the mining interests. Many dislike the use of coal for cooking purposes, as it makes such a dirt; but ultimately the bulk of our coal will come from Colorado, which is free from dirt, hard and shiny, easy to kindle, and gives out a bright, clear, heat. Our hardware dealers report an increased sale of coal burners, and it will not be long before king coal will drive our present friend, wood, almost entirely from the market.²

The views expressed in Wichita on the relation of fuel and transportation were equally applicable throughout central Kansas:

Fuel is the great desideratum in this prairie country. Cheap fuel is an absolute necessity. What we want and what we must have is competition in

1. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, February 7, 1889. Abilene claimed small quantities of gas and oil in the "city hole" at 300 feet.—*Ibid.*, March 15, 1888. Halstead was prospecting for coal, gas or salt on the theory that "It is certainly entirely within the bounds of reason to suppose that there is something under ground worth working for."—*Halstead Independent*, October 12, 1888.

2. *Manhattan Enterprise*, January 24, 1877.

coal. Cañon City coal must come in competition with Cherokee and Missouri coal at every railway station in Kansas. Osage City dirt must not control the prices of coal in this state.³

Attention was called likewise to lumber rates which were fully as significant to the development of the Plains.

The subhumid environment meant fewer and fewer natural springs and stream such as had provided water in the humid climate. The conquest of the subhumid upland in particular was even more dependent, if it were possible, upon specialized machinery to make available an adequate supply of water than upon materials for housing and fuel. The drive well and pumps came first, and then the windmill with the opening of the decade of the 1880's. This substantial achievement of adjustment to a working basis, was assured by the outlawing of the drivewell patent and the emergence of mass production of windmills at a price level low enough to be within the reach of the farmer.⁴

Large machines, drawn by horses at this stage of development, were an essential, not merely a convenience, in subhumid agriculture. Soil must be worked quickly while moisture was sufficient and with a view to conserving what was available. Lower yields per acre and more frequent crop failures, particularly before experience had shown the way to greater certainty, enforced a cheaper per acre expenditure on crops and a larger acreage. The economic solution of that problem in production was to increase the machinery and horse-power investment and reduce the labor charge, spreading the machinery cost over the larger number of acres which machines made practicable.

Capacity to produce its own food had been the test of the desirability of any country where measured in terms of traditional humid environment. Most of the staple vegetables, fruits, berries and nuts upon which Americans had lived were native to humid climates. Only a few of them were adaptable to a subhumid region and at successive points in the transition from the humid to the arid one plant after another passed the point critical to its survival. The occupation of the subhumid country was dependent, therefore, to varying degrees upon the outside for certain foods, that dependence being controlled by the degree of moisture deficiency and accompanying climatic factors. A traditional subsistence agriculture was

3. Wichita *Eagle*, February 21, 1884.

4. Earl W. Hayter, "The Western Farmers and the Drivewell Patent Controversy," *Agricultural History*, v. XVI (January, 1942), pp. 16-28; Manhattan *Nationalist*, May 12, 1876; Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, January 4, March 2, 1880; Wichita *Eagle*, April 1, 1880; Wichita *Beacon*, April 28, 1880.

not possible as a regular system, and in years of cash-crop failure, when subsistence was critical, these crops had usually already failed. They were conspicuously less drought resistant than the field crops. A subsistence agriculture was not even available under these circumstances as a crop insurance. This emphasizes one of the important deficiencies in environmental adjustment, inasmuch as most attention and the greater success has been associated with the cash crops and as yet relatively little intensive experiment has been devoted to such reserve subsistence food crops. Possibly the botanical world does not have plants with a sufficient range of adaptability to meet this challenge.

All these forms of equipment, supplies and services could be furnished at a price cheap enough to permit development of the Plains only when the industrial East had reached a true mass-production basis with its resultant low cost per unit.⁵ By the decade of the 1870's this stage had not been fully attained and the resultant costs were beyond the capacity of the West to finance successfully. It was that problem of meeting these cash capital costs that became another test of survival in the Plains environment.

During the early formative period of settlement successive new farmers brought cash which was spent in the community for improvements, current supplies and subsistence until crops matured. The cash of these newcomers invested in land purchased from first hands, the government and railroads or non-resident investors, did not augment the community fund of capital. Land sales served this function only in commissions to local dealers and when land was held and transferred within the community by residents, especially to non-residents. The settler who sold out and moved on took his capital with him, his receipts being reflected locally only to the extent that he paid local debts as a result of receipt of new money. Capital advanced from the East to new purchasers on mortgages likewise was reflected only slightly in terms of the community pool of capital. Another important source of new cash was construction of railroads, private buildings and public works and wages paid by business enterprises using outside resources. After a community reached a stage of relative stabilization many of these cash sources were cut off. Clearly the key to the capital problem was the production of a sure cash crop and the volume of balance due to the East meant that the cash crop must be produced on large

5. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co.), p. 271.

acreages per farmer and at the minimum of cash outlay per acre. Crop failures meant that the limited supplies of cash were soon absorbed in fixed charges payable in the East: interest, insurance, transportation, food. New capital imports ceased, new immigration fell off, land sales ceased or were made at forced sale at reduced prices, wiping out capital gains, the fruits of labor expended, and the increase in value attributable to community development. Cash transfers even within the community diminished or ceased tax payments, wages and salaries. The vicious cycle quickly brought destitution to all who were without substantial cash reserves, and most new settlers came with scarcely enough capital to meet expenses until the first crop should have matured. The settler with cash reserves sufficient to weather one or a series of adverse years might survive and prosper over a period of years. Emphatically, one key to survival was some means of subsistence together with a setting up of reserves that might serve as a sort of crop insurance to the rank and file.

Kansas climate was such that the inhabitants were kept constantly aware of it, only at some times more vividly than at others. The recognition of peculiarity which was so clearly in evidence among the first comers of the 1850's and 1860's persisted, but was tempered increasingly by the growing conviction that the climate was changing for the better. Thus there were two schools of thought, those who insisted there was no long time change and those who held the opposite, but with the climate-change sentiment in the majority in the 1870's and particularly during the mid-1880's. T. C. Henry was in the former group. Others who have been less recognized were Profs. E. M. Shelton and E. Gale of the agricultural college. Shelton's importance to the problem of agricultural adaptation has not been adequately appreciated in Kansas. He should be known for his work with livestock; grasses, especially alfalfa, and wheat. His realistic point of view is best expressed in his own words as showing his understanding of Kansas climate:

They argue that this is the way the thing is done in the East. Now, no eastern farmer can live in Kansas a couple of years without learning a good deal; but what he learns is as nothing compared with what he unlearns. I have got so far in this myself, that I feel like commanding from the first, any agricultural project of which it can be said, "They don't do so in the East."⁶

T. Dunlap, a farmer in the Willowdale community, Dickinson county, summed up his conclusions on crop experience in 1881:

6. *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, January 11, 1877.—Lecture on "Grasses."

We have got to adapt ourselves to the country we are living in. There are several kinds of crops that we know will grow here in Kansas, one of them is sorghum or sugar cane, which grows right along through drouth, hot winds or grasshoppers, and will no doubt soon be a profitable crop for a farmer to raise. Another is the sweet potato which we had better raise pretty largely next year and let the potato bugs rest one year. Another crop that grows well here is peanuts, and still another is broom corn. While wheat, corn and hogs may be the leading crops, these other ones may be mixed in so as to help fill out the programme.

As dry as this season is it will not interfere with the cattle and sheep business.⁷

Gale's interpretation of climate as unchanging was presented in a convincing manner as the result of his study of tree rings from the timber of the Republican river valley and the vicinity of Manhattan. He formulated a tree ring calendar from 1760 showing growing years and unfavorable years concluding:

That for a period of one hundred and fifty years, at least, the wood growth of our native forests, in the variableness of its successive seasons, is almost a perfect repetition of what we have witnessed for the last twenty years. . . . It remains for man, so far as he has the power, instead of indulging in quixotic dreams of cosmic revolutions, to counteract on the one hand unfavorable influences, and, on the other, make all possible provision for the contingencies of the climate. We may also come to the conclusion that it is not wise to infer, because we have enjoyed three or four bountiful years, that the order of nature has been changed, for the testimony of the forest is that there were years, long ago, just as fruitful, before the white man had come with his plow, and smoke, and electricity.⁸

Among those who believed climate was changing the principal arguments were that the plow opened the soil to absorption and retention of moisture, that trees induced rainfall and that rainfall followed civilization.⁹

Wishful thinking fell in with this theory of the favorably changing climate just as political considerations during the 1930's sponsored an opposite view of the effect of cultivation of the soil and presented it to the public in the government-sponsored film "The Plow That Broke the Plains," and Tugwell's prediction that within 300 years

7. Abilene *Chronicle*, September 9, 1881. In other places Dunlap committed himself to the climate-change theory, but his statement here is significant as emphasizing the necessity of adaptation.

8. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, February 22, 1878. See Gale, also in *ibid.*, February 24, 1881. A biographical sketch of Gale is found in the *Manhattan Enterprise*, September 27, 1878. Born in Vermont in 1824, educated to the ministry, he had been interested in horticulture and had lived in Kansas since 1864. Gale's construction and use of a tree-ring calendar in 1878 is interesting because such calendars are usually associated in the public mind with Dr. A. E. Douglas, for work published in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

9. "Civilization and Rain," *Lawrence Republican*, August 16, 1860; More seasonable climate, *Salina Herald*, October 20, 1877; Desert vanishing, *Atchison Champion*, quoted in *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, January 19, 1878, and in *Salina Herald*, April 12, 1879; Climate changes, 1874-1887, *Salina Journal*, July 14, 1887.

the eastward march of the desert would bury St. Louis in oblivion under a blanket of sand,—unless, of course, his program was adopted.¹⁰

The periods of particularly unfavorable weather resulted in giving concentrated attention to adaptation problems. Periods of favorable weather meant a return to the customary procedures of the humid agriculture. With the next recurrence of a dry year the farmer was the victim of weather, unprepared to meet the emergency. This uncertainty makes the transition region between the definitely humid and the permanently subhumid areas the critical region which usually was harder hit in years of drought than the less humid country which was committed exclusively to dry farming methods. In this respect it is clear that the transition country did not necessarily provide the means of a gradual process of achieving adaptation and the most optimistic interpretation must recognize these limitations.

Neither the Plainsman nor his climate can probably ever be understood by an Easterner. In 1881 a review of the season recounted a succession of disasters, but concluded with the perennial note of hope:

The gloomy forecasts in respect to the wheat crop is more than justified by the daily returns of the threshing machines. Taking a fair view of the whole county, the yield of wheat will not reach half a crop. There is a wide diversity of success in different localities, but the above estimate is a safe average. The late spring, cold, frosty winds, excessive rains; burning, blighting winds; violent storm, and the vast army of chinch bugs, have all combined to destroy or diminish the wheat harvest; while the present excessive dry weather is playing sad havoc with the growing crops. This has been an extraordinary, and in many particulars a disastrous year. Cyclones, tornadoes, rain and hail storms combined with freshets, have been particularly destructive; the electric fluid has been the occasion of an unusual loss of human life; the intense cold of last winter has had a match in the excessive heat of this summer, and the hardship to man and beast has been uncommon and discouraging. But, on the whole, those of us who escape under these adverse circumstances with our lives, health, and a good share of our property, should feel grateful, and be prepared to forego the large crops we expected this year, and hope for better success in the years which are to follow.¹¹

Another instance from 1880 formulated the "true philosophy" applicable to Kansas zephyrs which was characteristic:

The Kansas Zephyrs blew with unusual force on Monday and Tuesday, the wind being from the south. Real estate was lively, and a few persons were somewhat inclined to grumble. We have always felt friendly toward the

10. Speech delivered at Albany, N. Y., May 15, 1935.—Associated Press report in *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, May 16, 1935.

11. *Abilene Chronicle*, August 26, 1881.

zephyrs. We have enjoyed an immense amount of happiness by trying to look on the bright side of life—and especially upon the bright side of the sighing, singing, musical zephyrs. We prefer a buoyant, active and breezy atmosphere in Kansas, to the dark, rainy, dismal, muddy, chilling weather of other less favored States. This is the true philosophy, and every live Kansan ought to adopt it—and be happy.¹²

Such reactions were still characteristic of the Kansas Plains in the drought decade of the 1930's:

When God made Western Kansas, He held it in reserve for a great people. The conditions imposed try out men's souls as with fire. We are poor as the Lord Himself, was. We are buffeted with winds, burned out with drouth, pounded out with hail, froze out with wintry blasts, baked with summer heat, starved out by the grain gamblers and yet through it all, with faith in the future and a hope that next year conditions will be better, we spit on our hands, stiffen our backbones, give our overalls a hitch, smile at the hardships of life and tell the world that we are ready for whatever comes next.¹³

Some Easterners are so unkind as to call this stupidity. Plains-men call it courage.

MACHINERY AND THE PLAINS

The problems of machinery have appeared in numerous forms in the history of the Plains, but have not been interpreted adequately. The machinery costs were a frequent subject of complaint and controversy as has been seen in connection with the exchanges arising out of the "Golden Belt" episode of 1877, and T. C. Henry's recognition of the issue in his farmers' institute address of 1878. Walking plows were advertised at from \$12 to \$24; a sulky at about \$60; and a binder at about \$250. A country locals writer, in 1879, commented upon the number of binders being taken out by farmers to harvest a half-crop, which he argued could not more than pay for the interest on the machine.¹⁴ Another reference was made to the problem in complimenting certain men who had bought a binder and had cut enough wheat for others, the first harvest, to pay for it:

There is a good deal of talk indulged in about buying machinery being the ruination of farmers, but we reckon it is bad management and not the machinery. Of course, if a fellow buys a costly machine merely to harvest a little dab of wheat for himself, and then leaves it out doors to the merciless weather, it will "get away with him," as it ought to.¹⁵

At this stage of developments there would seem to be no basis for charges of monopoly. Advertisements show that there were several

12. *Abilene Gazette*, April 16, 1880.

13. *The Greeley County News*, Tribune, quoted by *The Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, February 1, 1932.

14. *Marion County Record*, Marion, June 27, 1879.

15. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1883.

lines of all types of implements available to the community and the larger dealers handled frequently two or more competing lines. The prices were high, but in the case of harvesting machines in particular, a rapid evolution was in progress from the self-rake reaper through the harvester, the wire binder to the twine binder, all in the course of approximately a decade. Most of these machines were experimental, inefficient, short-lived, and changes outmoded them even when they were not worn out from use. Many of the companies manufacturing such machines were inefficient, inadequately financed, mismanaged or unscrupulous in sales methods, and farmers buying from them often lost most of their investment. Whether it is necessary or not, every new, important industry has gone through such an experimental, mushroom stage of instability. The decade of the 1870's was notoriously a period of inventive fertility and mechanical experimentation, and the user of the output was both the beneficiary as well as the victim of phenomenal, technological change.

In all parts of the country mechanization was in progress, but in the subhumid West the environment tended to emphasize machinery as a means of producing money crops—something to ship out—to pay the balances chargeable against the region. The climate further emphasized machines, and for that era large machines, as a means of completing large scale operations rapidly while the necessary moisture was available; or harvesting rapidly to save large acreages of grain ripening at one time.

All of these new machines of the 1870's were horse drawn and the period marked substantially the passing of strictly hand operations and ox-power. This change extended largely to the practice of the operator riding the machine instead of walking. Of course, many could not afford to buy the more expensive riding equipment and many conservative farmers refused for years to accept the machines, but the younger generation came more and more to insist upon them. One comment in 1883 insisted that "the average Kansas granger don't propose to hoof it around his fields for any purpose if he can find a machine that will permit him to ride."¹⁶ In corn growing one farmer compared 1877 with fifty years earlier. Then a farmer with two or three boys worked from sun-up to tend ten or twelve acres, but in 1877 with horse machinery one man alone could tend sixty to seventy acres and not go to the field until seven o'clock. And in special comment on a new cultivator he remarked that now all that was needed was a sun-shade of canvas

16. *Salina Herald*, March 29, 1883.

over the driver. In some machinery advertisements even that deficiency was remedied.¹⁷ An interesting instance of conservatism was supplied by a farmer who possibly did not plow his own corn: "We use the common walking cultivator, as we consider this the best, at least when boys and hired men are used as drivers."¹⁸ Wheat growing was particularly adaptable to riding machinery. Corn growing still required hand harvesting, both husking and cutting, and no doubt that fact contributed to the attractions of wheat over corn farming.

During the early 1870's oxen supplied much of the farm power used, but they were too slow-moving for successful operation of the new power machinery and besides, saving of labor was only one of the reasons for these machines. One of the most compelling reasons for using such machinery in a subhumid environment was the necessity for speed in completing the job while conditions were favorable. Horses and mules were more satisfactory. Many horses were brought west by the wagon immigrants. Horses were driven in from Texas or other range states. Most of these were small and a realistic survey of the size and quality of the horses casts grave doubt upon many of the claims made with respect to the depth of plowing practiced. Two- and three-horse teams seem to have been the standard and the patent three-horse evener salesmen, as well as lightning rod salesmen, appear to have been among the major rural pests of the late 1870's. A sulky plow used three horses, a gang plow three or four, in the latter case probably tandem, the eight-hoe drill two horses, the eight-foot header two horses. As speed in completing operations was one of the most pressing factors in successful farming in the region, the fact must be recognized that even horse machinery in such sizes and pulled by such power fell far short of requirements for most efficient results.

The necessity for better horses was recognized. In 1876 they were being shipped in from Missouri. Later in the decade and in the early 1880's emphasis was placed more and more conspicuously upon the breeding of Normans (Percheron), Shires, and Clydesdales; larger, fast-stepping draft horses.¹⁹

In humid climates, title to and control of land was considered the essential of an agricultural system. In the desert, land is worthless

17. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 22, 1877.—T. Dunlap, "Willowdale Items." *The Marion Record*, August 18, 1876, gives sulky plow advertisement with umbrella.

18. J. S. Foster, Jewell county, in *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1887 . . .* (Topeka, 1887), p. 24.

19. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, July 13, 1876; *Junction City Union*, March 30, December 7, 1878; June 7, 1879; *Manhattan Nationalist*, May 7, 1880; February 24, 1881; *Abilene Gazette*, December 2, 1881; *Marion Record*, February 15, 29, 1884.

without water and therefore control of water came to be accepted as the key to occupation of arid regions. If there is any one factor which occupies a similar place in the semi-arid country, it is dry-farming machinery—mechanization, through power machinery eventually, but at this stage, horsepower. The only function of a generalization is to focus attention upon a controlling factor in a situation and it is valid only to the degree to which it serves that purpose. It is not intended to mean that this application is universal and without exception—only that it is both important and significant.

MARKETING

In the subhumid interior region, without natural waterways, the railroad was essential to transportation. It was not, as in the humid country, merely a more efficient system. On the basis of wagon-train transport, commercial agriculture had been all but impossible. In its early stages, after the first rail lines were completed, the cost of service was only a little less expensive, so the great benefits anticipated by the first enthusiasm for railroads turned into disappointment. One of the early reactions to this outcome was the narrow-gauge boom for "the people's road," which crystallized in Kansas during 1871, continued through the mid-1870's and resulted in the building of the Leavenworth and Western on a route north of the Kansas river. There was only confusion as a result of this "craze" because another school of thought insisted that the combined influence of the narrow-gauge agitation and the depression of 1873 discouraged the building of standard-gauge lines. This group insisted that cheap rail rates would come only through more railroads and competing lines. A third approach was the advocacy of governmental regulation.

The Union Pacific railroad had reached Junction City in 1866, and the first competing road by way of Emporia in 1870. This had brought the first reduction in rail rates, but the one town, Junction City, the point of intersection, was the principal beneficiary. In 1875 the two roads came under the same control and rates were raised, to be reduced again only in 1879. In 1883 the inauguration of state regulation brought further reductions. Other factors were even more fundamental to the situation, however, in the increased efficiency resulting from the gradual change from iron to steel in railroad construction and equipment, making possible larger locomotives and cars, longer trains and greater speed. A car of wheat

in 1875 was said to be 340 bushels; in 1882, 400 bushels; and in 1883, 500 bushels.²⁰ In 1879 a train a half-mile long broke an all-time record on the Kansas Pacific and consisted of 15 loaded and 58 empty cars, requiring two engines, one at either end, to move it 102 miles in nine hours.²¹

In a new country one of the first concerns of both the farmer and the railroad was something to ship out. The accompanying table of incoming and outgoing freight at Salina, Junction City and Manhattan during the spring months of 1869 emphasize concretely the one-way nature of freight traffic and the fact that rates on incoming freight must pay largely the operating costs of trains both ways.

FREIGHT MOVEMENTS; RECEIVED AND FORWARDED, 1869²²

		April, pounds.	May, pounds.	June, Pounds.
Salina.....	Forwarded.....	44,417	48,211	312,302
	Received.....	750,467	485,728	265,833
Junction City.....	Forwarded.....	881,282	933,947	919,088
	Received.....	2,215,416	3,924,477	3,332,557
Manhattan.....	Forwarded.....	297,314	373,950	780,583
	Received.....	554,260	486,293	490,982

Of course a large commercial crop to be marketed in the East might balance or even reverse the account, but in any event such a condition must await the development of agriculture to surplus status unless some non-agricultural commodity might be produced to supply something to ship out. During the 1870's prolonged general economic depression presented little demand in the East for Western commodities of any kind. Contrary to the Texas cattle trade traditions, that business did not provide either a very large or consistent volume of business, and it was seasonal. Frequent crop failures did not insure uniform volume of outgoing freight even after the wheat boom had provided such traffic. The Kansas Pacific railroad was fully aware of the importance of the problem and during the crop failure year of 1874, R. S. Elliott, its industrial agent, was investigating the possibilities for processing gypsum near Solomon City, but a profitable business was dependent upon Eastern railroads giving Kansas the same rates as from Iowa to St. Louis.

20. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, September 30, 1875; *Junction City Union*, July 22, 1882; *Marion Graphic*, February 2, 1883. It was not until 1889 that seventy-pound steel rails replaced the first light-weight steel rails on the Union Pacific (Kansas Pacific) main line up the Kansas river valley.—*Junction City Union*, February 16, 1889.

21. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, February 20, 1879.

22. *Junction City Union*, July 17, 1869.

It was in this connection that the remark was made that "There is nothing so important to this country as finding something to ship out."²³

This comment had an application broader than the welfare of the railroad and one which was long recognized. The Lawrence *Republican* had discussed "the true basis" of prosperity in Kansas in 1859 in the following terms:

Frontier towns always enjoy a season of commercial sunshine not at all of their own creation. It is during the time when, from myriad avenues, there flows into the common centre streams of foreign wealth. It is the point in their existence when speculation is rife, when the fever of buying lots to day for one hundred dollars and selling them for a profit of one hundred per cent. to-morrow, runs highest,—that time when much is fictitious and uncertain. But all this is temporary. The show of prosperity is there, but the sources of it are extraneous,

It is perfectly well settled that no place can rise to permanent importance without producing the elements of that importance within itself. The proposition may not hold invariably true with respect to large commercial emporiums, . . . though even in those instances there is in a limited sense a production of wealth growing out of their natural position and ability to meet the demand for that transfer of productions. . . .²⁴

The conclusion of the argument was an assertion of the necessity of manufacturing and especially the processing of local raw materials at home.

From the standpoint of transportation another aspect of marketing must be emphasized. The Junction City *Union* declared in 1869 that "our market is west; when it isn't right at the farmer's door." As respects the home market it was asserted that:

For five years to come, every man who cultivates a farm can safely calculate on the fact that the new and neighboring settlers will gladly purchase his crop, and not even trouble him to hitch up his team.

As respects the markets west it was admitted that they were prospective because at the time the Junction City area was shipping in not out. When the mills were improved so as to produce a superior flour, the prediction was made that the market would be in the west.²⁵ In 1874 the Fogarty mill was shipping flour to Texas, the next year to Mexico by way of Colorado, and for a number of years thereafter large shipments followed.²⁶ In this way processed products were contributing something to be shipped out, but only

23. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1874.

24. Lawrence *Republican*, April 14, 1859.

25. Junction City *Union*, September 11, 1869.

26. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1874; August 7, 1875; April 1, 1876; November 17, 1877; July 27, 1878; February 15, 1879.

in years of good crops and even then such shipments as went west and south, by dividing the outgoing traffic, did not improve the east-bound freight situation.

As soon as the farmers of the valley began producing a substantial commercial surplus of grain they were confronted with the newly-developing agencies for marketing. Elevators were first established in connection with mills; at Junction City in the fall of 1874.²⁷ Two years later a public meeting was called to consider the building of an elevator and the claim was made that a saving of five cents per bushel would result.²⁸ During 1876 five elevators were built in Dickinson county, one of them by the Grange.²⁹ During the following winter a storm of protest was raised against the requirement imposed by the railroad that all grain be shipped through elevators and this resulted in the building of a farmers' elevator at Salina.³⁰ Direct shipping by farmers was in operation again the next crop year and comparative risks of the different methods discussed in the background of sharply fluctuating grain markets.³¹ Again in 1882 there were protests against the requirement that grain be shipped through elevators.³² The farmer complained against the weight given by dealers at local shipping points for both grain and livestock, and demanded installation of public scales.³³ Dealers had their grievances also against weights and shortages on cars shipped to terminal markets,³⁴ and against conditions existing at the Kansas City stockyards.³⁵ The fluctuation in local grain prices as repercussions from speculation on the futures markets were noted from time to time and the losses resulting to both local dealers and farmers stimulated an interest in reports of agitation in the New York legislature to abolish futures trading.³⁶

FARM DISCONTENT

It would seem that some measure of prosperity and contentment should have been derived from this decade of the winter wheat boom with its phenomenal development, both rural and urban, from an

27. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1874.

28. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1876.

29. Abilene *Chronicle*, January 12, 1877.

30. *Salina Herald*, December 28, 30, 1876; January 13, June 9, 1877.

31. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1877; January 25, 1879.

32. Marion *Record*, July 21, 1882.

33. Abilene *Chronicle*, March 24, 1882.

34. Junction City *Union*, October 22, 1881, based upon Topeka *Commonwealth* articles.

35. Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, January 26, 31, 1882, in commentary on charges of the Lawrence *Journal*.

36. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, January 17, March 28, 1878; Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, April 30, 1882.

early pioneer scatteration of farms and villages to a fairly substantial, closely settled agricultural system with cities of 2,000 to 3,000 population. Such was not the case, however, and the period of economic dissatisfaction with which the decade opened crystallized into the mushroom-growth of the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) during 1873 and continued through the mid-1870's. John Davis of Junction City, a veteran of labor and other reforms, argued that agriculture was in a transitional state. In the past, he said, the object had been to increase quantity and quality, but in the future it would be necessary to study the art of selling and buying; marketing, not production, was the issue.³⁷ The farmers' convention, in the fall, raised the political issue in the mind of the old-line party editors who insisted that the convention was a hoax, and that all the nominees were professional politicians.³⁸ Coöperative stores and elevators were widely established and ran their course through the mid-1870's.

Politically, a new phase of farmers' discontent crystallized in the late summer after the wheat crop failure of 1877. The great outcry was against monopolies and a Workingmen's Greenback party organization took shape which meant agitation of the money question and a declaration of purposes "that they [the working-men] may compete with and overthrow monopolies, and all combinations that are enslaving the laboring class."³⁹

Early in 1878 the *Western Rural* of Chicago, a farm paper, ran advertisements in Kansas newspapers announcing that "it advocates equal rights to all classes, and strongly opposes the encroachments of capital and the grinding monopolies which tend to get a foothold in our land."⁴⁰ It was this paper that became sponsor of the National Farmers' Alliance in 1880-1881 inaugurating the first phase of the Alliance movement which culminated at the end of the decade. By May, 1881, fourteen counties in Kansas had five or more subordinate Alliances.⁴¹ One of the most active local questions was weighing of farm products, but the principal state and national issue was monopolies, a term that meant railroads and all other alleged monopolies.⁴² By 1882 the Alliances were definitely in party politics with the usual result in Kansas. So long as such an organization representing discontent was non-partisan it received

37. Junction City *Union*, May 3, 1873.

38. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1873.

39. Marion *Record*, August 31, October 26, 1877.

40. Salina *Herald*, February 23, 1878, and other papers of same period.

41. Abilene *Gazette*, May 27, 1881; March 10, 1882.

42. Abilene *Chronicle*, March 24, December 15, 1882.

support, irrespective of party, and the dominant Republican party made concessions in both platform and nominees. But upon entering politics as a party, the full force of the Republican organization was turned against it.⁴³ By 1883 the Alliance was sending delegates to a convention in Chicago to launch the Anti-Monopoly party as an independent political party. The call declared the existence of an "irrepressible conflict" between monopolies and the people. The four-point platform declared for restriction of the power of corporations, reservation of public lands for settlers only, suppression of gambling in necessities of life, and opposition to combinations which fixed prices contrary to the natural laws of trade.⁴⁴

The representative in congress from the fifth district was John A. Anderson of Manhattan, former president of the Kansas State Agricultural College and a Republican. He made definite overtures to conciliate the farmer discontent one of which was a bill to establish an agricultural commission to investigate the movement of agricultural products from the point of production to their final market.⁴⁵ The bill failed to pass but was an interesting anticipation of many similar projects more than a generation later when problems of marketing and distribution had become more insistent. In local Dickinson county politics the return of a good crop year worked in favor of the spirit of conciliation which was sufficiently strong by the fall of 1883 to persuade the county Alliance convention not to nominate a county ticket because the Republican ticket was largely drawn from farmers.⁴⁶

To what extent did these grievances have any reality and to what degree could the suggested remedies have alleviated conditions: The Grange remedies; the money remedies, greenbacks and silver coinage; coöperative buying and selling; anti-monopoly and railroad regulation; and reform of the land system? Unquestionably, there were real grievances, and likewise there were applications where certain of the remedies would have afforded a limited benefit, but it is equally certain that none of them separately or in combination could have made the region prosperous. The tendency of historians has been to over-value reforms proposed or adopted which depended for their execution upon political agencies. It is again the common error of mistaking noisy activity for accomplishment.

43. *Salina Herald*, September 7, 1882; *Abilene Gazette*, December 8, 1882.

44. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 11, 1883.

45. *Junction City Union*, December 16, 1882.—Text of bill.

46. *Abilene Chronicle*, August 31, September 7, 1883.

COMMUNITY MATURITY

During these years of the wheat boom the region was emerging from the primitive pioneer stage and was anxious, possibly impatiently over-anxious, to improve its standard of living. Comment shows that the people were explicitly conscious of this transition. In describing the Fairview community in Dickinson county in 1880, a writer said:

Any one would hardly believe the story of the change that has taken place in less than ten years. What was then one wild unbroken prairie, is now turned into beautiful farms, with forest and fruit trees planted, and there are several nice orchards in the district. Some apple trees that bore apples last year, peach trees that have borne several crops. And the hedge lined roads, the large fields of green wheat, all taken together form a great contrast between the present and the past. . . .⁴⁷

From Cheever township came a similar description:

Eleven years ago, . . . the first house of convenient size was built, also the first well was sunk. . . . If the original owner of that house and well was to return now, he would experience some difficulty in recognizing his old homestead, it is so much changed by the valuable improvements which surround it on every side. . . . He would discover also, that all his old neighbors, except three or four, had pulled up their stakes like himself and departed elsewhere. Ten years of unwearied patient toil does work wonders in a new settlement; how it changes the bald, monotonous face of a Kansas landscape. How it covers its bare surface with handsome farms. . . .⁴⁸

In Geary county there was an important variation in the story. It had been settled earlier and having built fences around its fields resisted the herd law until late in the decade. The social conflict between the old settler and new settler was the subject of a significant editorial in 1884 describing "Creek bottom rule":

The plow is doing a great stroke of business in Kansas this Spring, but nowhere were its labors more visible than in the Republican river bottom between Junction City and Fort Riley, and for some distance up the stream. It should have been done, this plowing, years ago, but the county of Davis [now Geary] is, or was, unfortunate in its topography. The county, for a little one, had too many small creeks for its own good, and was subjected for many years to what might be called creek bottom government. The first settlers occupying the narrow valleys and surrounding a few acres with pole fences, constituted and set up for a sort of close agricultural corporation. A new-comer in Kansas has no conception of the lofty scorn with which these gentlemen regarded the settler on the high prairie. He was given a limited number of years to starve out, and was considered an alien and a stranger. Creek bottom rule for years fought off the herd law, and retarded the de-

47. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1880.

48. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1882. A similar story was written for northern Marion county (*Marion Record*, May 5, 1882), and one for McPherson county in 1883 (*McPherson Independent*, June 6, 1883). In fact many a newspaper representing a community in a like stage of development had a similar word picture to paint.

velopment of Davis county. By some fortunate turn the ancient dynasty was subverted; the herd law adopted and thousands of new tilled acres attest the beneficence of the change. The wheat grows close and green over the once despised uplands now; and by a sort of poetic justice the march of improvement has reached the lowlands last. But the once bitter herd law controversy is now being settled in favor of both parties by the barbed-wire fence.⁴⁹

C. K. Holliday wrote from Topeka to his wife in 1854, expounding the clean shirt and good living philosophy of Kansas development:

Our washing we get done as we can. For myself I am wearing today a shirt that I put on two weeks ago and scarcely know when I will get a clean one. But this is all right. I would not exchange Kansas and its dirty shirt for Penna. with all its elegance & refinement. Clean shirts & good living will come after awhile. . . .⁵⁰

To some the dirty shirt became permanent. Sam Wood's gained state-wide notoriety and the mere mention of Sam's shirt made one editor want to scratch. With most, however, it was different. One of Sam's neighbors facetiously expressed the Kansas ambition thus in 1881:

Everything growing fast and the prospects are good and we hope to be able to buy a box of blue ointment and a fine tooth comb and pass out of that primitive state known as a "lousy homesteader," and become a respectable citizen, and with one more such year we expect to be raised to that sublime degree of civilization called "sorghum lappers."⁵¹

The outward evidences of the coming of the higher standard of living appeared at different localities at somewhat different times and the notices of them in the press are not necessarily indications of their first arrival. It meant only that for some reason the fact of the innovations and changes attracted the attention of the local editors. It is significant, however, that in so many different places the press became conscious of the same type of change at about the same period. In 1878 the sales of organs reached such large figures as to become cause for comment and sales of pianos were made in smaller numbers. Of more practical utility was the sale of sewing machines and furniture.⁵² In Chase county when a similar development was noted a writer of country locals boasted about organ sales: "Say Toledo is not being civilized."⁵³ In 1879 another locals editor in Dickinson county wrote: "The pony fever has broke out. Mr. E. A. Bartle has bought him a team just for pleasure, and

49. Junction City *Union*, April 26, 1884.

50. "Letters of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, 1854-1859," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI, p. 249.

51. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, June 16, 1881.—"Highland Notes."

52. Junction City *Union*, August 3, 10, 1878.

53. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, August 31, November 2, 23, 1882.

Orin Zibble has a team for the same purpose."⁵⁴ Of course, ponies called for buggies which were shipped in by the carload by 1880. At Peabody the large buggy sales called out the comment: "The old farm wagon period is rapidly passing away." A similar development was recorded in Chase county when Fox creek reported: "Our Creek seems to have taken buggy fever of late."⁵⁵ Abuses of the new social conveniences led an editor to protest:

Some of those who drive teams in the city are too careless in turning the corners. There is no reason why they should come around like Jehu, endangering the lives of pedestrians. Some complaints will be made if it is not stopped.⁵⁶

It was during the 1870's that the Grange inaugurated what was quoted approvingly in Kansas as the "rebellion of farmers against drudgery," through the two fundamental objects of the organization which are "social and intellectual culture."⁵⁷ Although the Grange was diverted to other paths during the decade, probably its most significant contribution was in this direction. Likewise, investment, as soon as their financial outlook seemed to permit, or even a little earlier, in those conveniences which made rural life more satisfying, was in itself a rebellion against drudgery.

HOUSES

The settlers who established themselves earliest in the upper Kansas river valley during the late 1850's built their log cabins out of the materials available on the ground. In 1872, when E. W. Hoch arrived in Marion county, the town of Marion "consisted of a few straggling stores and a small 'scattering' of dwellings, largely log cabins."⁵⁸ Sometimes the log cabins were soon replaced by better shelters, but one case was noted in Geary county in which a thirty-year-old log cabin was not replaced by a frame house until 1885.⁵⁹

Stone which was plentiful in much of the region was of a soft type which hardened after exposure so it was relatively easy to work. The houses in the German community on Lyon's creek were largely stone⁶⁰ and those in the Swedish settlement to the northwest of Junction City were built largely of stone.⁶¹ A summary of improve-

54. *Abilene Chronicle*, July 25, 1879.—"Walnut Grove Items."

55. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1880; July 18, 1884; *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, July 6, 1882; *Marion Record*, July 19, 1878.

56. *Salina Herald*, August 30, 1888.

57. *Marion Record*, August 30, 1873, from *Lippincott's Magazine*.

58. *Marion Record*, March 28, 1883.

59. *Junction City Union*, May 23, 1885.

60. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1869.—A trip up Lyon's creek.

61. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1868.

ments being made in Riley county during the late 1860's emphasized stone as a building material.⁶²

Saw mills were brought in to work up lumber for buildings and fences and were still operating during the late 1870's.⁶³ The prairie farms were dependent upon timber for limited uses from near-by wooded lands, but the railroad was the means of bringing in lumber. The upland Fairview community of Dickinson county about 1871 was described as consisting of "only a few box-houses, a number of sod-cabins, and a few dugouts." The first school was held in the winter of 1872-1873 in a little shanty. As there was difficulty in finding water on the ridge, houses were moved to points where successful wells were dug. This meant, of course, that the houses were box or frame houses; "seven were moved and some of them twice or more."⁶⁴ In another community the description as of 1874 was that "here and there was a patch of breaking, and little box-houses with no trees to protect them from the sun and wind."⁶⁵

These box houses and shanties were built of sawed lumber, either from local sawmills or shipped in by rail, and were the forerunners of the more pretentious frame houses which replaced them. The Catholic priest, Father Hayden of Solomon, advised immigrants coming to Kansas that the minimum capital requirements must be sufficient for a team and wagon, "a frame building," and the means to subsist until the first crop was saved.⁶⁶ The dug-outs and the sod-houses were present, but there seems to be no reason to assume that relatively there were many of them. In 1883 it was said that "The day of the dug-out and sod-house in this portion of Kansas has passed away forever."⁶⁷ In this the commentator was speaking figuratively, because what he meant was that in houses as in the case of organs, pianos, buggies and such evidence of a higher standard of living, the farmers, large and small, were building new homes, many of them houses of substantial character, of lumber, brick or stone.

With a good crop year attention was directed again and again by the editors in central Kansas to the new improvements. In 1882 it was rare to pass a farm "that does not show new lumber somewhere."⁶⁸ And in Marion county it was said that "it is surprising how many new farm houses there have been erected . . . the

62. Manhattan *Independent*, August 10, 1867.

63. Abilene *Chronicle*, December 14, 1877. The sawmill at Solomon was referred to as making excellent lumber.

64. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1880; January 20, 1882.

65. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1882.

66. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1877.

67. Salina *Herald*, April 12, 1883.

68. Halstead *Independent*, September 15, 1882.

past year. Go from the city, any way you will . . . and from five to twenty new farm houses will cross your vision at a single glance." ⁶⁹

Among the great farms of the area a few may be described. John Taylor and his son lived twelve miles southeast of Abilene and in 1876 had five farms of 960 acres each. The two home farms had two-story stone houses and the other three, one and a half-story frame houses. Four of the farms had stone barns.⁷⁰ On the son's farm in 1879 was a massive three-story stone barn, 39' x 86'. In 1884 Taylor was building the largest barn in the county 50' x 150' and of stone.⁷¹ In 1879 J. S. Hollinger, another large farmer, was said to have had the largest stone barn in the state, and he was then building a new house, the best in the county, and as local pride would have it, probably the best farm house in the state, constructed of brick and cut stone, two stories, with slate covered mansard roof and cupola. He had a massive stone barn seventy feet square of the Pennsylvania type and in 1882 was building another of two stories, 70' x 100'.⁷² The Miller brothers, north of Junction City, occupied two stone houses, connected by telephone, on their large stock farm.⁷³ That was an age when family and home still possessed a hold upon a substantial portion of the American people. Accumulation of surplus wealth was put into homes; a fine house, together with surrounding grounds, enclosed by a fence. As E. W. Hoch put it, "a residence never looks homelike until enclosed with a nice fence."⁷⁴

In dealing with the housing problem, it is conspicuous that, in both materials and designs, the people of the transition country were following essentially the patterns familiar to their Eastern humid environment. The relative scarcity or even absence of timber imposed only a handicap upon customary housing habits without imposing the necessity for the invention of new mediums. With the building of railroads, lumber was available, but at a price that imposed heavy burdens upon the population. Too much should not be made of this, however, because at the same time the exhaustion of timber resources was imposing upon most of the United States a similar burden of a higher price for the raw material and in addition a heavy transportation cost.

69. *Marion County Democrat*, Marion, May 17, 1883.

70. *Junction City Union*, May 6, 1876.

71. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 6, 1879; *Abilene Gazette*, July 4, 1884.

72. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 6, 1879; June 16, 1882.

73. *Junction City Union*, August 26, 1882.

74. *Marion Record*, June 18, 1879.

ORCHARDS AND FOREST TREES

In coming to Kansas to make homes, a large proportion of the settlers planted orchards as a matter of routine development of their farms. Agriculture was largely a subsistence proposition. A few embarked upon commercial orchards. "Welcome" Wells, just east of Manhattan, enlarged his 160-acre farm to 400 acres, 1861-1872, established an orchard of 3,000 trees, and in 1872 his apple and peach production was estimated at about 500 bushels each, besides pears, apricots, cherries and other fruit.⁷⁵ In addition, there were other substantial orchards in Riley county. By 1878 the question of commercial orchards was being argued through the columns of the newspapers in Dickinson county. A Riley county grower with a 40-acre orchard (Wells was probably meant) was cited as having realized \$4,000 each year in 1875 and 1876, and over \$10,000 in 1877. Successful orchard men of Dickinson county were asked to dispel the idea that apples were a failure, and ten were called out by name.⁷⁶ This particular round of discussion had been started by W. Ramsey, Solomon City, who called apples a failure, and the defense was led by John W. Robson, an orchard enthusiast who had come from near Galena, Ill., in November, 1871, and settled in Cheever township.⁷⁷

In the Abilene *Chronicle* Robson published a series of twelve articles, "Horticulture for Farmers," beginning December 27, 1878, and then was engaged to conduct a regular column, "Farm, Orchard and Garden" beginning April 11, 1879, which ran for five years. When the leading farms of the region were described in the local press a large orchard almost invariably had its place in the story,⁷⁸ and when an editor made a tour of Saline county in search of subscribers in 1880, of 36 farms described in some detail, most of them quarter sections in Eureka, Solomon, New Cambria, Greeley and Gypsum townships, an orchard figured in 15 of them.⁷⁹ In 1883 a description of 37 farms included orchards on all but 10.⁸⁰

Viewed in retrospect the importance of these orchards diminished in later years and most of them disappeared, but it would be to miss

75. Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, July 7, 1872.

76. Abilene *Chronicle*, May 17, 1878. The reader must bear in mind that these figures may not be any more accurate than other boom statistics.

77. *Ibid.*, April 26, May 17, June 7, 1878; February 27, 1880; March 31, 1882; Junction City *Union*, May 9, 1874.

78. Farms of John Taylor, Sr., and Jr., and J. S. Hollinger described in *Chronicle*, June 6, 1879; August 22, 1884.

79. Salina *Herald*, January 10, 24, February 7, 21, 1880.

80. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, July 19, 1883.

a most significant aspect of this early pioneer period to fail to appreciate the extent to which fruit trees entered as essentials into the thought and planning for the future of Kansas. It was on the tree question, both fruit and forest trees, that probably the subhumid climate of the Prairie-Plains country touched the tenderest spot, both sentimentally and as a matter of thrift, in growing one's own food and wood. However far they might follow a wheat, or corn or cattle or sheep boom, among many of the recent immigrants from the East, to be without wood, fruit and vegetables produced on one's own land went against a fundamental cultural heritage of the race. No doubt it was by such a spirit an editor was moved to write: "There is nothing a man of small means could do that would so enhance the value of his farm, as to plant from five to twenty acres of timber.⁸¹ And Hoch commented in 1882 on "the almost universal desire for a grove of trees on each farm."⁸² Many, even of those of the more speculative type who expected to hold the farm only long enough to sell at a good profit and move on, paid lip service at least to the tree and garden formula. The tree question can be exaggerated, however, by not discriminating between wishful thinking and reality, as many farmers lived for years on their farms without planting a single tree.⁸³

SIZE OF FARMS

Data are not readily available for a comparative statistical study of the number and size of farms in Geary, Riley, Dickinson and Saline counties at different dates.⁸⁴ The federal census material for 1880 is summarized in the accompanying table for the four counties and for the state as a whole. Although the average in each of the counties is somewhat above the state average it is not conspicuously so in any one, and is largest in the pasture county of Geary. It is regrettable that the size group 100-499 acres is not broken down into quarter, half-section and three-quarter farm-size groups, because the point that would be of particular interest is the number who would fall into the traditional quarter-section group. Attention should be called, however, to the number of 40-acre and 80-acre farms.

81. Abilene *Chronicle*, March 29, 1878.

82. Marion *Record*, May 5, 1882.

83. McPherson *Freeman*, October 4, 1878.

84. The federal census for 1870 is seriously deficient. The author has not had available the trained clerical help nor the means of financing the necessary studies of whole counties based upon the state census data of 1875 and 1885. Only one township in Dickinson county has been given such treatment.

NUMBER AND SIZE OF FARMS⁸⁵

	Total number farms.	Under 3 acres.	3-9 acres.	10-19 acres.	20-49 acres.	50-99 acres.	100-499 acres.	500-999 acres.	1,000 acres, plus.	Average size, acres.
Geary..... (Davis)	767	.....	12	8	41	238	452	12	4	170
Riley.....	1,333	.....	10	14	63	348	875	20	3	164
Dickinson...	2,308	.....	6	11	81	731	1,427	43	9	168
Saline.....	1,986	.....	12	4	44	596	1,295	32	3	160
State...	138,561	62	997	1,658	9,539	31,078	93,823	1,169	235	155

BUCKEYE TOWNSHIP, DICKINSON COUNTY: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FARMS BY SIZE-GROUP

FARMS.	1875.		1880.		1885.	
	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.
40 acres.....	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
80 acres.....	32	43.3	30	38.3	37	33.1
160 acres.....	31	41.8	31	39.9	43	38.4
320 acres.....	10	13.5	17	21.8	21	18.7
640 acres.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	8.9
No data.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.9
Totals.....	74	100	78	100	112	100

The results of a study of Buckeye township, Dickinson county, are presented in tabular form in the accompanying table. These are based upon the manuscript federal and state census returns, farm by farm for the years 1875, 1880, 1885. The prevailing size of the farm units, based upon operation, not ownership, were the eighties and quarter-sections. The increase in the total number of farms of each group on account of more intensive settlement conceal the size trend which becomes clear when reduced to percentages. The eighty and the quarter-section sizes were on the decline throughout the decade, but only at a slow rate, and at the end of the decade the larger sizes were only a little more than one out of four. For practical purposes it can be said that this county had been settled after the Civil War, the railroad serving it for the first season in 1867, so this evolution of the land system to 1885 represents the situation approximately twenty years from first settlement.

A historical sketch of the Fairview school district, Dickinson

85. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880* (Washington, 1883), v. III, pp. 86-89.

county, in 1880 reported 35 owners in the three-mile square district (36 quarters), seven farms called large were enumerated, one of a section, one of 400 acres, and with slight variations five averaged half-sections, the remainder being eighties and quarters.⁸⁶

The fact of these prevailing sizes raises the question of the reasons, whether they were sufficient for a family living, and whether the operators were satisfied that these sizes were suitable. The reading of farm notes for the period leaves the impression that few thought of the problem in terms of an ideal size. In taking government land each took the largest size unit available under the law, and in buying land the largest he could buy with the money available. Few thought of the farm in terms of a permanent home, even for a lifetime and probably none to be handed down from generation to generation in the family, but rather as a speculation which would be improved and developed with a hope of a sale sooner or later at a profit. Not infrequently the successful farmer added land and the purchase of 480 acres making a total of over 2,000 acres in one case drew the admiring comment, "He will have a farm yet."⁸⁷

On two different occasions one rural correspondent did discuss explicitly the question of ideal farm size and adequacy of rural living. The first occasion was in 1879 in consequence of general discontent over a bad year. Farmer T. Dunlap wrote:

I have become satisfied that we as farmers of Dickinson county are trying to farm too much land. We must sell off part of our land, go on a smaller scale, and farm a good deal better. Farming has not paid very well this season as far as the wheat crop is concerned, but we must not depend wholly on wheat, nor on corn, hogs and wheat, but we ought to have . . . something to fall back on.

A farmer should not have any more land than he can make use of either for culture or for pasture, for the taxes will be a great burden to him.

Admitting that farming does not pay every year, still I think the farmer is much better off than our loose men that are roaming around the country seeking for jobs and helping to create strikes.⁸⁸

Two years later meant the accumulation of two severe years, and yet the same writer stood his ground:

. . . What a country Kansas is for stock. And what a chance there is for the young man or the middle-aged man with a family, that has any desire to settle down on a farm, and is willing to work for a living, to secure himself a good home. For several weeks past I have been led to wonder at the "gold fever excitement," that has taken so many of our young men, and even married men, who leave their families behind them, off west to try and make

86. *Abilene Chronicle*, March 12, 1880. Possibly a part of the land belonging in farms of the district lay outside of the three-mile square.

87. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1879.

88. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1879.

a fortune in the mining country. A man with a family, with 160 acres of land in Dickinson county, (with a contented mind, and a will to work,) is far better off than the Astors or Vanderbilts, or even President Garfield, as far as the real substantial enjoyments of life is concerned. Why is it that men who have a competency enough to make themselves and family comfortable, are not willing to "let well enough alone," but will sell out and risk all they have got in some new venture, and will in probably forty-nine cases out of fifty, come home strapped, broken down in constitution and in morals, to spend the remnant of their days in poverty and want.⁸⁹

When T. C. Henry attacked the federal land system, advocating the repeal of the homestead and preëmption and other acts, and insisted that 160 acres was not sufficient to support a family west of Fort Riley, J. W. Robson came forward in defense of the land system and the quarter-section farm, half grass and half crop-land, as one on which a farmer could live in comfort and luxury.⁹⁰ In response to the Topeka *Commonwealth* commentary on his address, Henry withdrew his quarter-section farm statement as applied to Dickinson and similar counties. The Atchison *Champion* had insisted on the adequacy of the quarter-section farm and the *Saline County Journal* had been more specific in defending the 80- and 160-acre farm in Saline county.⁹¹

In 1881 a descriptive picture was drawn of the statistically average Dickinson county farm based upon the assessor's rolls for the year. This imaginary farm consisted of 160 acres, grew 50 acres of wheat, 36 acres of corn, one acre of potatoes, three or four acres of other crops, kept four horses or mules, seven or eight head of cattle, 12 hogs, six sheep, and had an orchard of 30 apple trees, 60 peach trees, 12 cherry trees, some plum and pear trees and raspberry, gooseberry and blackberry bushes, besides some grape vines.⁹²

This is the kind of farm that should have made Dunlap and Robson happy. There was an unreality in these discussions, however, which was already becoming evident in 1881, but a few years more were to teach many of these farmers in the school of stark reality. Robson called attention to the fact that "the range for stock is rapidly diminishing. Most of us who have been depending hitherto on the 'commons' adjoining our homes for pasturage, will soon have no 'commons.'"⁹³ This was an admission that undeveloped railroad and absentee-owned lands were serving an im-

89. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1881.

90. *Ibid.*, February 10, March 3, 1882.

91. *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, February 4, 1882; *Saline County Journal*, Salina, February 16, 1882.

92. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 24, 1881.

93. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1881.

portant function which was not candidly recognized by the land reformers who made outcry against land monopoly. Robson thought mistakenly that tame-grass culture would supply the pasture deficiency, but the sale of these raw lands and development by resident owners was gradually forcing an increase in farm size in self-defense and the squeezing out of the smaller farmers.⁹⁴

A second factor injecting error into the statistical picture of farm sizes was the "sidewalk" and absentee farmers of whom there were an undetermined but substantial number in the region. As they did not maintain a farm establishment, but had all their farm work done on the contract system, their operations only serve to confuse the object of this discussion, which is the size of a self-maintaining farm unit best adapted to the environment and the requirements of the prevailing system of agriculture.⁹⁵ The picture was obscured further by the widespread conviction that climate was undergoing a change favorable for agriculture as practiced in humid climates. It was this factor more than any other that caused confusion as between the two interpretations of the nature of the problem of the region—was it merely a new frontier like any other encountered in the westward march across the continent and therefore only experiencing much the same growing pains, or was it, not temporarily but permanently, a new environment to which adjustments must be made fundamentally different from anything heretofore experienced by the race. On many things the environmental view was accepted, but even where accepted for some things it was not consistently and logically applied to all aspects of the situation. The adjustment had to be arrived at the hard way by experience in each and every department, one phase at a time.

By way of conclusion the fact should be stressed that there was clearly no popular demand for congress to change the laws relative to size of the farm unit under which government land was being distributed. Furthermore, it is evident that there was no general agreement in the region itself that a change in size was necessary to adapt more accurately to the requirements of subhumid environment. The conviction that the land laws were wrong in this respect did not become general until a later period and any such conclusion changed with technological innovations, particularly mechanical

94. James C. Malin, "An Introduction to the History of the Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XI (February, 1942), pp. 9, 12.

95. An unsigned article of 1879, *The Atlantic Monthly*, v. XLIV (December, 1879), pp. 717-725 at p. 722, referring to south central Kansas, particularly along the Santa Fe railroad system, said some estimated that half the wheat was raised by the contract farmers. Probably this was an over-estimate, but conditions varied. There is no reason to believe that such a situation prevailed in Buckeye township or the Fairview district of Dickinson county.

power farming. It is equally evident also, that the rank and file of the farmers did not have the capital to invest in larger farms, and if they had acquired them, even under the liberality of the land laws, they did not have the capital to meet the operating charges especially machinery and horse-power on larger farms. The question of the size of farm was much more therefore than that of a size theoretically adequate to maintain a farm family in the sub-humid environment. There could be no such absolute ideal size. There could be only successive practical adjustments by which men of limited resources, agricultural skill and managerial ability could somehow make some kind of a living, sometimes out of crops produced, sometimes out of earned increment in land values realized through sales, and there were always many who failed.

TURNOVER OF FARM OPERATORS

The populations of frontier communities were largely on the move.⁹⁶ Of the farm operators in Dickinson and Saline counties in 1865 only 43 percent remained in those counties five years later. For the base years 1875 and later, the population turnover data have been compiled for a single township in each of these counties: Buckeye township north of Abilene and Walnut township south of Salina. The accompanying tables give the numbers and percentages of those continuing in the township or represented by a male descendant. For the years from 1875 through the first quarter of the twentieth century there was not much change in the rate of turnover, but beginning in 1925 a high level of stability was attained. Note should be made of how little rather than how much the depression of 1930-1940 and power farming undermined community stability in comparison with the depressions of pioneer periods. It was a very different thing to have sixty percent leave within five years as in the pioneer period and have sixty percent remain as in the last decade. The pioneer period was a time when there was a truly great body of migratory farmers, both in total numbers and in percentages of the whole number of farm operators. The press admitted that "a few people are going East, and some of their friends claim they are deserting the country. But like the raw recruit, 'they are only going to the rear to rally.'"⁹⁷ Such rapid turnover of farm operators in the pioneer period necessarily meant that the larger part of them were always new men inex-

96. James C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV (November, 1935), pp. 339-372.

97. *Salina Herald*, May 10, 1883.

perienced in farming in the new environment. As Shelton pointed out they spent their first years unlearning what they thought they knew about farming. This could only retard adjustment and stabilization of agricultural practices and of community life. In the background of such rapid change in the composition of society, the remarkable thing is the degree of survival and continuity in the various activities of the community which depended upon the co-operation of the social group, schools, churches, granges or other organizations.

As there were no census data on land tenure until 1880 there is little that can be drawn from that source. In 1880, of 79 farmers in Buckeye township 71 were listed as owners and only eight as tenants. After five years only 46 of these land owners remained and none of the tenants. Conclusions drawn from this single sample would be misleading, however, because in several other samples from other parts of the state the persistence of tenants in a community was approximately equal to owners, and samples have been found where the tenants were the more persistent portion of the farm population.⁹⁸

The total number of farm operators in each of the townships under consideration fluctuated in cycles reaching the high point in 1885, 1915, and 1935 and it will be noted from the tables that a great percentage of turnover always followed such extremes. Naturally there are several factors interrelated in these situations, but two considerations are of special significance. Instability was always higher among newcomers than among seasoned residents. The fact of the number increasing to a peak at these dates meant that replacements of new settlers had exceeded departures during the years preceding these dates. In other words, at such peaks the community was composed of a larger proportion of new and unadjusted settlers than at any other time. The second important factor is the reduction in the size of farms which necessarily resulted from increasing the number of farms in a given area. These two factors, new unadjusted settlers and small farms added up to community instability. By contrast, in periods of depression when community replacements had been few, farm sizes increased, and land was in strong hands of seasoned residents, the turnover was relatively low.

The high rate of turnover of farm population together with the inefficiency of agricultural management suggest that there would

98. Unpublished study by the author on "The Relation of Land Tenure to the Turn-over of Farm Population."

not have been necessarily any virtue in stability. In view of the quality of so large a portion of the migrant farmers it was not a misfortune to a particular community that they quickly moved on. If their places were filled successfully by better quality, the exchanges were clear gain. The community as a whole did develop, but there was probably little improvement in status of the individual farmer who moved on from place to place. Some who remained did not learn effectively the environmental adjustments necessary to success, and continuity in development rested substantially, therefore, upon the few who could lead in re-education of a succession of newcomers.

Whenever the unstable native American came into competition with the immigrant stock of Germans, Swedes, and Bohemians, the American lost out and many of these newcomers to America were settling in the Kansas and Smoky Hill valleys during the decade. The American did not possess the tenacious love of the soil for its own sake that was so conspicuous among these European stocks. The histories of the land policies of the United States are replete with references to plans for providing land and a home to the poor actual settler as distinguished from the speculator. Such studies as this reveal, however, that actual settlers who were desirous of land upon which to establish a home for their life time and for their descendants to the first, second and third generation were virtually nonexistent. With few exceptions, an American was always ready to sell at a profit in time of prosperity. In times of depression he frequently sold out on any terms from necessity or discouragement. Many moved to the towns. A vivid example of competition with the foreign stocks occurred in western Marion county when the Mennonites moved in and the railroad was built from Marion to McPherson providing for the founding of the new town of Hillsboro. The Risley township locals reported "About two thirds of the American population of Risley are talking of moving to the new town to go into business."⁹⁹ Much has been written about migrant American farmers, but historians have ignored the villages and small towns and the rate of mortality of business enterprise launched by these Americans who abandoned the soil, for whatever reason, for the even greater, but unknown hazards of the supposed rise in social and economic status attendant upon going into some business in town.

99. *Marion Record*, March 7, 1879.

PIONEER FARMING

The average quality and efficiency of farming operations necessarily fell far below the best that was theoretically possible under existing conditions, and the poorest must have been bad indeed. *The Nationalist*, of Manhattan, quoted an unidentified Kansas exchange describing a type of farmer asking "how many Riley county farmers recognize themselves?"

He "houses" his farm implements in the corners of the fence; his fowls roost in trees during the storms of winter; his manure pile leaches into a roadside ditch, and, wiping his nose on his coat sleeve, he makes plaintive complaint that "farming don't pay."¹⁰⁰

The fact that some farmers, possibly most of them, were always behind in their work, plowing for wheat and sowing wheat, is evident from the frequent comment in the press during the summer urging early plowing and sowing, and later recording late operations and then early in the spring the admission that some would not get their corn out in time to plant a new crop. One editor said, "These are the farmers who are fond of coming to town, sitting around in grocery stores, and complaining of the hard times."¹⁰¹ Whatever may have been the reason, there was no exaggeration about husking corn in March, because country locals recorded such practice nearly every year there was a corn crop.

Admiration for Pennsylvania barns was the occasion for a plea for better farm management. Such barns were built on two levels, the lower floor for livestock and the upper for storage and some large enough to drive a team into and turn around:

. . . Whenever Pennsylvania barns are seen all over our prairies, we shall not fear insect pests, or any other disaster, for our farmers will always have enough in store to tide a bad year.¹⁰²

It was one thing to argue theoretically on how farming should be done, but it was quite another to do it at a profit with the facilities at hand. The adjustment to crop and tillage had not been fully accomplished; the type of managerial ability necessary to efficient farming was scarce in the type of migrant pioneer settler who constituted the rank and file of operators; and capital available to most was not adequate to finance land and machinery. There was no reasonable course open even to the best farmers, but to spend as little cash as possible under the uncertainties of pioneer agriculture

100. *Manhattan Nationalist*, April 12, 1878.

101. *Salina Herald*, March 10, 1877.

102. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, March 7, 1878.—Exchange.

BUCKEYE TOWNSHIP, DICKINSON COUNTY

Turnover of Farm Operators, 1875-1940

Upper Line: Number of Farm Operators; Lower Line, Percentage

BASE.	5 yrs. later.	10 yrs. later.	15 yrs. later.	20 yrs. later.	25 yrs. later.	30 yrs. later.	35 yrs. later.	40 yrs. later.	45 yrs. later.	50 yrs. later.	55 yrs. later.	60 yrs. later.	65 yrs. later.
1860 {	12*	7*	5*										
100*	58.3*	41.6*											
1865 {	79*	34*											
100*	43*												
1870													
1875 {	73	42	32		22		13		10		6		5
100	57.5	43.8		30.1		17.8		13.7		8.2		6.8	
1880 {	79	46	33		18		16		12		11		10
100	58.2		41.8		22.8		20.2		15.2		14.0		12.7
1885 {	108	47	29		21		19		19		15		13
100	43.5		26.9		19.4		17.6		17.6		13.9		12.0
1890													
1895 {	100	38	29		25		21		20		17		
100	38.0		29.0		25.0		21.0		20.0		17.0		
1900													
1905 {	100	46	37		35		29		26		21		
100	46.0		37.0		35.0		29.0		26.0		21.0		
1910													
1915 {	130	83	62	51	46	36							
100	63.8	47.7	39.2	35.4	27.7								
1920 {	125	88	67	62	47								
100	70.4	53.6	49.6	37.6									
1925 {	117	77	70	62									
100	65.8	59.8	44.4										
1930 {	104	75	57										
100	72.1	54.8											
1935 {	111	68											
100	61.3												
1940 {	98												
100													

* Whole county.

WALNUT TOWNSHIP, SALINE COUNTY

Turnover of Farm Operators, 1875-1940

Upper Line: Number of Farm Operators; Lower Line, Percentage

BASE.	5 yrs. later.	10 yrs. later.	15 yrs. later.	20 yrs. later.	25 yrs. later.	30 yrs. later.	35 yrs. later.	40 yrs. later.	45 yrs. later.	50 yrs. later.	55 yrs. later.	60 yrs. later.	65 yrs. later.
1860													
1865 {	70*	30*											
	100*	42.9*											
1870													
1875 {	70	39	32										
	100	55.7	45.7										
1880 {	88	50											
	100	56.8											
1885 {	140												
	100												
1890													
1895													
1900													
1905 {	91												
	100	42	37	29	25	23	20						
		46.2	40.7	31.9	27.5	25.3	22.0						
1910													
1915 {	104	69	44	41	35	31							
	100	56.7	42.3	39.4	33.7	29.8							
1920 {	97	64	44	39	34								
	100	55.7	45.4	40.2	35.1								
1925 {	82	59	49	39									
	100	71.9	59.8	47.6									
1930 {	82	59	41										
	100	71.9	50.0										
1935 {	94	60											
	100	63.8											
1940 {	88												
	100												

* Whole county.

and of climatic hazards. At a farmers' institute session at the agricultural college in 1881, the question was put explicitly whether it would not pay to adopt more expensive and scientific methods. Of course, the primary purpose of holding the institute at all was to encourage better farming, but Prof. G. T. Fairchild met the query with a practical answer: "This [is] a question of time and place," and in making this reply he was not evading the issue.¹⁰³

The more substantial type of citizen was impatiently desirous of a higher standard of living available to him only through more consistent profits which the agricultural techniques of the time were not yet capable of producing. Partial adjustments to environment had been accomplished but in the opening years of the 1880's more time must elapse for confirmation of the validity of those already under trial, and several major changes were yet to be introduced. Only then would there be justification for extensive capital investment in scientific farming and a reasonable expectation of success.

103. *Manhattan Nationalist*, February 24, 1881.

Tom Playfair's Creator at Tom Playfair's School

WILLIAM B. FAHERTY, S. J.

FRANCIS J. FINN, or "Father Finn," as he was affectionately known to hundreds of thousands, spent less than five years in Kansas. But these years as a teacher at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, were the source of his widespread prominence. Here he wrote his most popular novel, *Tom Playfair*. Here was his inspiration and the experience that started him on the road to literary fame.

He wrote twenty-seven books, with St. Marys as the setting of the three most popular of them. Fifteen were translated into French, six into German, eighteen into Flemish, four into Italian, four into Polish, three into Bohemian, and several into Hungarian, Spanish and Portuguese.¹ Already eleven have come out in Braille editions. Two more will soon appear.² Even today, fifty years after his first publication, his annual sales average five thousand copies.³ This record ranks him unquestionably among Kansas' more esteemed authors.

The *American Catholic Who's Who*, for 1911, spoke of him thus: "Father Finn is universally acknowledged the foremost Catholic writer of fiction for young people."⁴

Finn's early years were unspectacular. Born in St. Louis, October 4, 1859, he attended St. Louis University High and St. Louis University. He entered the seminary of the Jesuit Order at Florissant, Mo., on March 24, 1879.⁵ A year of classical studies followed a year of religious training.⁶

In February, 1881, Finn entrained for St. Marys, Kan., and taught grammar to the preparatory classes at St. Mary's College.⁷ At first an Indian mission, this Jesuit establishment had gained its charter as a college on December 24, 1869.⁸ Finn's interest in litera-

1. A complete bibliography of Father Finn's books is given by Daniel A. Lord, S. J., ed., in *Father Finn, S. J.* (Cincinnati, Benziger Bros., 1929). A list of his novels, with dates of publication, appears in *Who's Who in America*, v. XV (1928-1929), p. 766.

2. *Kenwood Alumnae Braille Association, Inc.* (Albany, N. Y.)

3. Records of the Missouri Province Educational Institute, 4511 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.

4. *American Catholic Who's Who*, edited by J. P. Curtis (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1911), p. 204.

5. *Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Provinciae Missourianaee Societatis Jesu* (St. Louis, 1880), p. 13.

6. *Ibid.* (1881), p. 11.

7. *Catalogue of St. Mary's College, 1880-1881* (St. Louis, 1881), p. 4.

8. *St. Mary's College Bulletin*, January, 1913, p. 8.

ture and his ability to tell stories—which he always held in reserve for worthy classes—helped to make his teaching a success. His classroom was a one-story log building.

At the time of his arrival, the young school had an enrollment of 183 students.⁹ Besides his teaching duties, he was the general supervisor of the boys. Whatever activity they indulged in, whether it was hiking, swimming, hunting, soccer, or any other sport, Finn joined them. This opportunity of being with boys in their varied occupations, helped to give him the wealth of experience that flooded his books.

When the enrollment leaped to 252 the next year,¹⁰ the students were split into two groups according to size. Finn was put in charge of 112 small boys. He was dean of their dormitory, which was the second floor of a frame building,¹¹ and he taught second high grammar.¹²

He advanced to third year with his class in due time, and directed the small boys' sodality, a religio-social organization common to all Jesuit schools.¹³

Finn's pupils who gained prominence later were two, Borglum and Kister.¹⁴ Gutzon Borglum is well known as one of America's foremost sculptors. He seems to have had trouble fitting into the routine of boarding school life, due to his artistic and individualistic temperament. Finn admitted later that Borglum was the one student he did not understand. But these same qualities, he declared, made Borglum famous later.¹⁵ It is interesting to note that Borglum's brother, Augustine, was mentioned for excellent deportment and diligence.¹⁶ But not Gutzon!

George Kister, who figured prominently as a character in *Tom Playfair*, had a distinguished career in the field of education. After entering the Society of Jesus, he became vice-president and prefect of studies at St. Mary's, president of Campion College, Prairie du Chien, Wis.,¹⁷ principal of Xavier High School, Cincinnati,¹⁸ and

9. *Catalogue of St. Mary's College, 1880-1881*, p. 26.

10. *Ibid.*, 1881-1882, p. 27.

11. John F. O'Connor, S. J., '84, "The Eighties," in *The Dial*, St. Marys, v. XXX (June, 1919), No. 5, p. 214.

12. *Catalogue of St. Mary's College, 1881-1882*, p. 4.

13. *Catalogus*, etc. (1883), p. 22.

14. *Catalogue of St. Mary's College, 1881-1882*, pp. 20, 24.

15. *Alumnus Collegii Sanctae Mariae* (St. Marys, 1929), v. I, No. 18, p. 123.

16. *Catalogue of St. Mary's College, 1881-1882*, pp. 28, 30.

17. *Catalogus*, etc. (1913), p. 62.

18. *Catalogus Provinciae Chicagiensis Societatis Jesu*, 1931, p. 16.

finally ended his active career as president of his beloved boyhood school, St. Mary's.¹⁹

Finn went to Woodstock College, in Maryland, in the fall of 1883 to pursue graduate studies in philosophy.²⁰ The following summer found him back in the valley of the Kaw, seeking to recuperate his shattered health. At the beginning of school, he returned to his old work as prefect and teacher of first high.²¹

One day he found himself "doodling" away his time, while his class worked on compositions. "Why shouldn't I write, too," he thought. In fifteen minutes he had composed the first chapter of *Tom Playfair*.

His dread insomnia turned a blessing. He used two of his sleepless hours every night on his story. The ordinary familiar incidents of Catholic residential school life filled his pages. Finn hoped to give his readers—if he might have any—his ideal of a genuine Catholic American boy.

By the first of January, 1885, he had to call "Time Out," and he returned to St. Louis for medical attention. Undoubtedly Finn little dreamed of the great success that was to be his. Discouragements were on all sides. Ill health plagued him. The routine of boarding school life was trying.

The following year found him back in the classroom, but now in Cincinnati.²² His first published short story, "Ada Merton," appeared at this time in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, a monthly magazine published at his former college at Woodstock, Md.²³

He was able to resume his philosophy course at Woodstock in September, 1886.²⁴ In the bottom of his trunk, temporarily forgotten, was the battered manuscript of *Tom Playfair*.

He successfully finished his philosophical studies in the spring of 1888.²⁵ The next two years found him teaching rhetoric at Marquette in Milwaukee.²⁶

Back to Woodstock he went in 1890 to begin his theological studies in preparation for his ordination to the Catholic priesthood.²⁷

The popularity of *Percy Wynn*, a story he wrote after *Tom Playfair*, but published before it, prepared the way for the appearance of

19. *Catalogus Provinciae Missourianaæ*, 1932, p. 51.

20. *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 36.

21. *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 20.

22. *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 27.

23. *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, v. II (1885), p. 447.

24. *Catalogus Provinciae Missourianaæ*, 1887, p. 36.

25. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 35.

26. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 30.

27. *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 35.

his first and most popular novel. Idealism and deft moral teaching hid themselves in the pranks of Tom Playfair and his fellows. Hardly had the book appeared in 1890 than it came out in a German translation. That boys of all nations liked *Tom Playfair* can be seen from the following: Besides several editions in German, a Portuguese version appeared in 1908, an Italian in 1910, a Polish in 1913, and French, Flemish and Dutch versions in 1925.²⁸ Its universal appeal, manifested by the volume of sales, ranks it with the Frank Merriwell and Tom Brown books. Tom Playfair was always to remain Finn's favorite character, and became in the eyes of hundreds of thousands the typical American Catholic boy.

An unusual letter, which arrived at St. Marys about 1910 attests the universal appeal this book was to have. A young Bavarian boy, anxious to find out if Tom Playfair really lived, addressed a letter in his native tongue to "The Very Distinguished Father President of the Jesuit College, near Pawnee River, U. S. A." The state of Kansas was not mentioned; not even the Kaw river; the "Pawnee" was the name Finn gave in his stories to Bourbonnais creek near the college. Yet the letter arrived in due time.²⁹

Father Finn returned to St. Louis, to study privately for his final examination in theology, the last hurdle on his hard trail of education.³⁰

When Father Finn returned to St. Marys in 1894,³¹ he found many improvements. St. Mary's College was booming. A three-story stone structure, north of the faculty building, housed the students' dormitory, senior reading room, and science rooms. A small gymnasium provided indoor playing space. An infirmary had usurped the place of Father Finn's first classroom. The basement of the old college building, the relic of a disastrous fire, had become a swimming pool. The students watched the sporting events from a new grandstand. Electric lights and a telephone system were the final material improvements of the period.³²

Father Finn became moderator of *The Dial*, a college publication inaugurated a few years before. His term in this office marked one of the high sierras in the history of this monthly magazine. Among his personal contributions were a short story, and a regular column

28. Lord, Daniel, *Father Finn*, pp. 158, 159.

29. O'Connor, J. F., "The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley" (1925), p. 577, footnote.—MS. copy at St. Mary's College.

30. *Catalogus Provinciae Missourianae*, 1894, p. 4.

31. *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 22.

32. *St. Mary's College Bulletin*, January, 1913, pp. 15, 16.

entitled "Literary Notes."³³ In November, *The Dial* ran a discussion of college football. Three writers favored the game. Two disconcerted it, because of injuries. In place of this interesting student discussion were two long accounts, in the next issue, of St. Mary's football victories over Kansas State and Fort Riley.³⁴ Football had triumphed for the moment.

The Philharmonic Society, including orchestra, band and choir, was under Father Finn's direction.³⁵ A picture of the band, in the files of St. Mary's College, shows a group of young men arrayed in uniforms that Grant's veterans might have been proud to wear in Memorial Day parades. The music director, seated beside Father Finn, looked like Admiral Farragut after his triumph at Mobile Bay.

After a year each at Milwaukee,³⁶ and Florissant, Mo.,³⁷ Father Finn taught rhetoric at Xavier College in Cincinnati.³⁸ Unsteady health forced his gradual withdrawal from the classroom. He turned to pastoral work at St. Francis Xavier Church, in the Queen City, where he directed the parish school for many years.³⁹

Though a character who combined literary ability and administrative talents is unusual, Father Finn had a remarkable record in this new work. It is beyond the province of this paper to discuss it in detail. Suffice it to mention that news of his death in 1928 was first-page material in the larger Cincinnati papers, and his life was the subject of many features and editorials.⁴⁰ But that's leaping ahead.

When St. Mary's celebrated its diamond jubilee in 1923, Father Finn returned to receive the degree of Doctor of Laws.⁴¹ By this time, he was a prominent man, and St. Mary's a well known institution. Not the least important sources of its prominence were his stories. He created an influence which endured and helped make St. Mary's known favorably in many lands.

But what of Father Finn's personality? Buoyant, cheerful, with a nice sense of humor, and a pleasing and open address, he always shrunk from being classed as a man of letters. Physically he was a heavy-set man. No one would describe him as handsome. He was just ordinary looking.

33. *The Dial*, v. VI (1894-1895), No. 1, *passim*.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-134.

35. *Catalogue of St. Mary's College*, 1894-1895, p. 42.

36. *Catalogus Provinciae Missourianaæ*, 1896, p. 38.

37. *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 10.

38. *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 29.

39. "Obituary of Father Francis J. Finn," in "Woodstock Letters" (Woodstock, Md.), v. LVIII (October, 1929), p. 119.

40. O'Connell, D. M., "Father Finn," in *America*, v. XL (November 17, 1928), p. 132.

41. *St. Marys Star*; June 14, 1923.

As to the style of his writing, it would be well to confer the opinion of a literary man. James J. Daly, professor of English at the University of Detroit, and author of several books, wrote: "He told his story with inexhaustible gusto, relying less upon extraordinary incidents, characters and situations than upon a breezy, hearty and vigorous presentation of easily recognized occurrences in American Catholic school-life."⁴²

Tom Playfair, the typical American Catholic boy, became a waif, when Father Finn died in Cincinnati, November 2, 1928. St. Mary's knew it had lost a great friend. The subsequent issue of *The Dial* was dedicated in his honor. The editor at the time was Kenton Kilmer, son of the great soldier-poet, Joyce, who was killed in World War I. A portrait, a group picture which showed him with *The Dial* staff of 1894, some verses, and two articles recalled the memory of the beloved Father Finn.⁴³

Three years later, when St. Mary's College was converted from a residential high school and college to a theological seminary, Tom Playfair, the waif, became an alumnus without an Alma Mater.

42. Daly, James J., "Father Finn," in *The Dial*, v. XXX (June, 1919), No. 5, pp. 221-225.

43. *The Dial*, v. XL (December, 1928), No. 2, p. 88.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1941, to September 30, 1942. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appeared in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Bypaths of Kansas History

HORSES VS. THE UNION PACIFIC

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, April 2, 1873.

A lively race took place on the 28th inst. between a soldier on horseback from Fort Harker and the express train on the K. P. [now the Union Pacific] railroad. The horse gained about twenty-five yards in a half mile. It was better time than was ever made in Kansas. Half a mile made in fifty seconds by a plug.

From the Junction City *Union*, June 10, 1876.

A joke is told of a conductor on one of the K. P. freight trains. It appears that when his train reached Solomon City he got off, but remained too long, and the engineer left him. When the train arrived at Abilene a cloud of dust appeared moving rapidly over the prairie, and pretty soon in came the conductor behind a splendid span of horses. He had actually made better time than the train.

TROUBLES OF THE DRUMMER IN DODGE CITY

From the Dodge City *Times*, March 24, 1877.

J. B. McManahan, a St. Joe cigar runner, was here this week, and while his cigars were spread out for the "boys" to inspect, several boxes vanished. J. B. M.'s suspicions were excited against Luke McGlue, and, taking Constable McGoodwin, he went through every saloon and business house in the city. Everybody was smoking and praising the cigars Luke McGlue had given them, but Luke could not be found.

SAILING VIA THE UNION PACIFIC

From *The Clay County Dispatch*, Clay Center, November 29, 1877.

A wind-power hand car, says the Junction City *Union*, sixteen feet in length, is now sailing on the Kansas Pacific. The sail is fifteen feet high, twelve feet wide at the bottom, ten at the top. It is controlled precisely as the sail of a sail boat, and by its means the car is always easily propelled except when the wind is "dead ahead." With a good wind a speed of twenty-five miles an hour can be easily attained.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

J. M. Satterthwaite reviewed the history of the Emporia trail in his Douglass *Tribune*, August 21, 1942. "One line of the . . . trail went up the Cottonwood [to] about Cedar Point, came over the hills and down Cole creek, to the Walnut valley," the article reported. "Another route crossed the Cottonwood below the Falls, running over the hills to the south fork, and then through . . . Matfield Green, and over the summits to Sycamore Springs where the Walnut started; thence down the Walnut through Chelsea." The route was widely used by immigrants in 1870 when Emporia was the end of the Santa Fe railroad.

Articles relating to Kansas history in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "Friends of Old Days in Kansas Saw Budding Genius of Negro Scientist [Dr. George Washington Carver]," by Paul I. Wellman, September 9, 1942; "Trails of a Pioneer Indian Chief Crossed in the Grand Lake Region [Cayuga Springs, Last Home and Burial Ground of Mathias Splitlog, One of Founders of Wyandotte, Kan.]," by J. P. Gilday, September 15; "When Smuggler, Pride of Olathe, Won Fastest Race Ever Trotted," by Jessie Hodges, October 8; "Kansas in the War Effort," November 3; "Abilene's 'Ike' Eisenhower Shines as Soldier, Scholar and Statesman," November 9; "Kansas Is Planning To Do Something With War Plants When Peace Returns," by Cecil Howes, February 3, 1943; "K. U. History Professor [Dr. James C. Malin] Concludes That John Brown Was a Bad Man [See *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XII, pp. 110, 111]," by Paul I. Wellman, February 18, and "The Hills of 'Old Town' [Kansas City, Mo.] Challenged and Evoked Spirit of the Pioneers," by J. P. Gilday, March 10.

Cecil Howes, head of the Topeka bureau of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, wrote on the following Kansas historical subjects in the *Star* in recent months: "Kansas Small-Town Papers Always Gather a Bumper Crop of Personals," September 10, 1942; "One Man [J. W. F. Hughes of Topeka] Survives Kansas Political Uprisings of a Half Century Ago," September 23; "More About the Meaning of Kansas Place Names," September 25; "Lift Some of the Mystery of a Rare John Brown Portrait [Picture in Governor's Office in Topeka]," September 27; "How Kansans of the Territorial Days Went About Getting Divorces," October 3; "Topekans Went in For Snappy Means of Locomotion in 1869," October 9; "Early Black-outs by Kansas Pioneers When Indians Were the Enemy," October

16; "Sound on the Goose Question," October 20; "A Kansas Fund From Pioneer Days Is Helping to Win the War," October 23; "Good Samaritans of Kansas Farming Communities Are Pictured," November 4; "More About the Names of Kansas Towns," November 6; "Ghost Towns [Shawnee county]," November 12; "Soybean Production Was Known Early in Kansas But Only in Late Years Has It Become a Standard Crop," November 14; "The Story of the [Mrs. Kate A.] Aplington Art Gallery of Kansas," November 17; "Horace Greeley, Friend of Early Day Kansas, Didn't Like Some of the Rawness of the State When He Toured the Area," November 20; "Long Has the Contention Over Liquor in Kansas Been an Issue," November 24; "Kansas Began Early to Boost Itself Before the Rest of the Nation," November 27, and "Once Upon a Time There Was a 'Gold Rush' in Kansas," December 11.

On October 8, 1942, the Hays *Daily News* published a thirty-two page "Hospitality Special" expressing the good will of residents of Hays "toward all those who temporarily will reside in this city and near the new Hays-Walker airfield until the new military base, now under construction, is completed." Included in the edition were two articles of historical interest: "Life and Death Struggles of Early Days on Plains Recalled by Pioneer," as recorded by Mrs. Mildred Cass Beason of Quinter, and "George Grant, Victoria Colonist, First to Bring Angus [Cattle] to Kansas."

The early history of Freemasonry in Lawrence was sketched by Dr. Edward Bumgardner in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, October 28, 1942. Lawrence Lodge No. 6 was organized in 1855 and Acacia Lodge No. 9 in 1867. A more extensive history of Acacia lodge by Doctor Bumgardner was a feature of the seventy-fifth anniversary souvenir booklet issued late in 1942. It contained the roster of elective officers and names of all the members from the organization of Acacia to September 10, 1942.

A brief review of the life of the late Kate Stephens of Lawrence, by K. W. Davidson, was printed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 15, 1942. Miss Stephens, a former professor at the University of Kansas, died in 1938. The university has recently announced receipt of a bequest of \$30,000 from her estate, "the income from which is to be used to perpetuate the cultural idealism symbolized by the donor and the passion for justice which burned in the heart of and motivated the life of Judge Nelson Timothy Stephens, father of Kate, who was the founder of the university school of law."

The Russell Methodist Church observed the seventieth anniversary of its founding with a dinner meeting November 19, 1942. A history of the church, prepared by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal for the occasion, was published in the Russell *Record* of November 23. The Rev. John Connor, a circuit rider and local preacher of Ellsworth, organized the first class of fourteen members in Russell on December 19, 1872, according to Judge Ruppenthal.

"First Stranger Creek Bridge Built in 1857, It Is Claimed," was the title of an article in the Leavenworth *Times*, December 1, 1942, featuring a brief sketch of William Crutchfield, builder of the bridge, who was a prominent figure in early Kansas affairs.

The following Kansas historical subjects were discussed by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* in recent months: "First Wichita Attempt at Navigating the Air Not Attended With Success," January 4, 1943; "Movements in Money That Marked First Days in the Life of Wichita," January 5; "Talking Machine Arrival in Wichita Followed by Large Development Stage," January 9; "Incident of Big Blizzard That Brought a Blackout to Whole Prairie Region," January 11; "Food Was Put to Bed to Save From Freezing in Fiercest of Storms," January 12; "Wichita Was Hit Early by the Jersey Cow Craze Which Swept the Nation," January 15; "Early Day Cattleman Left Vivid Description of Experience in 1871-72," January 16; "Launching of Wichita Seventy-Three Years Ago Had Military Background," January 19; "An Architectural Style in Early Wichita Homes That Did Not Continue," January 28; "Vision of the Pioneer Seeking to Penetrate Future of the Prairies," February 3; "Early Figures Spurred Wichita at the Start to New Hope and Effort," February 5; "Early Zoölogical Start Was Made by Wichita With Prairie Animals," February 8; "First Sight of Wichita by Gen. William Hazen Seventy-four Years Ago," February 15; "When Wichita Town-lots Began Changing Hands With Advance in Prices," February 16; "Detailed Account Left of Late Big Bison Hunt in This Prairie Region," February 17; "Eagerness of Pioneers to Win From Prairies All Natural Resources," February 22; "Starting New Township Here in Sedgwick County Seventy Odd Years Ago," February 25; "Lone Tree Was Landmark Out West of Early Wichita Much in Traveler's Eye," February 26; "Wichita Showed Stamina When Three Years Old in Meeting First Panic," March 2; "Hints That Wichita Had From Older Sister City, Humboldt on the Neosho," March 3; "Correspondent of *Eagle* Who Wrote Able Account of a Buffalo Hunt Here," March 4; "Appear-

ance of Intuition in Some City-Builders in Picking a Winning Town," March 5; "When Little Arkansas Had Three Separate Names From Its Source to Mouth [Elkah, Ho-cah-hah-shinker, and Ute-cha-og-ra]," March 6; "Last Big Experience City of Wichita Had With the Buffalo Herds," March 11; "After Getting Railroad Wichita Busied Itself Letting Shippers Know," March 12; "City Most Lusty Infant at Its Third Birthday Wichita Visitors Noted," March 13; "When Capt. and Mrs. King From Big Texas Ranch Paid Wichita a Visit," March 19; "Inspiration to Industry That Wichita Caught Up From the Early Prairies," March 25; "Memory of Henry Tisdale, Prairie Pioneer of Vision, William Allen White Has," March 26; "Ugly Prairie Storms That Made Most Notable November in Year 1868," March 29; "In the Frontier Vanguard of the Prairie Invasion Were Saw and Grist Mill," April 1; "Famous Turkey Roost on Cimarron River Named For [Gen. Phil.] Sheridan," April 3; "Big Change in Cooking in Early Kansas Times Took Legs Off Skillet," April 6; "Experience of Pioneers With Their Livestock in Developing the Land," April 7; "Springs Gave Glamor to Dreams of Future in the Prairie Pioneers," April 13; "Isolation of Pioneers on the Vast Prairies Had Its Fascinations," April 15; "Early Wichita's Pride Over Its Possession of the Sixth Meridian," April 23, and "Thomas C. Battey, Early Traveler Over the Prairies, Wrote Down Details of His Trip This Way in 1871," April 30.

The origin of the town names of Westmoreland, Wamego, Rossville, St. Marys, Onaga, Havensville, Alma, Eskridge, Holton, Louisville, Silver Lake, Seneca, Manhattan and Topeka was recalled by Frank A. Miller, editor and publisher of the *St. Marys Star*, in the issue of January 14, 1943.

Interesting information on early-day Baxter Springs and the Baxter family, for whom the town was named, was contributed by Dolph Shaner to the *Joplin (Mo.) Globe*, January 17 and February 7, 1943. The Andreas-Cutler *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1161, reports the town was named for "A." Baxter, but Mr. Shaner's article, based on reminiscences of the late Barton J. Morrow, of Neosho, Mo., in 1926, and information from C. C. Baxter, a grandson who now lives at Dublin, Tex., shows that "John J." or "John L." Baxter was head of the family. "John J." Baxter was listed in the census of Kansas territory in 1857 as a resident of McGee (now Cherokee) county. He appeared again as "John J." this time with

the names of his children, in the census of 1860, but the grandson reports the name as "John L."

"Santa Fe Trail Across Kansas Helped Save Great Northwest Territory for U. S. Just 100 Years Ago," was the title of an article by Henry L. Carey in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*, January 24, 1943.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "Dave Payne, the Oklahoma Boomer, Gets a Permanent Memorial in New Biography [See *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XII, pp. 111-112]," by Paul I. Wellman, February 1, 1943; "William Allen White Takes a Brief Pause For Birthday Interview at 75," by Elmont Waite, February 10; "The Soldier From Junction City [Maj. Gen. John C. H. Lee, commander of Service of Supply] Who Must Deliver Goods For Eisenhower," by Marcel Wallenstein, February 20; "Long Service of Kansas Women [Miss Anna Speck and Miss Edith Wood] Ended by the Merit System," February 28; "Leaders of Industry Are Studying War at Ft. Leavenworth's Service School," March 4.

"Larned's First Newspaper Made Its Appearance in '73," was the title of an article in *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, of Larned, March 17, 1943. The first paper, the *Press*, appeared June 10, 1873, and was described by Mrs. Isabel Worrell Ball writing in the Larned *Eagle Optic*, November 17, 1899. Brief biographical mention of Mrs. Ball was also included in the article.

"Old St. John History," by Melba Cornwell Budge, and a page article by Miss Maude Doran entitled "Early History of Stafford County," with pictures of the county's three courthouse buildings, were features of the *St. John News*, March 18, 1943.

The "Pioneer Story" of Ezekiel Lafayette Smith, who settled in Crawford county November 11, 1871, was reviewed by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Lena Martin Smith, in a three-column article in the *Girard Press*, March 25, 1943.

A history of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Kansas and Adjacent States of the United Lutheran Church was featured in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 2, 1943. The synod was organized at a convention in Topeka November 5, 1868, and then consisted of eight churches with a membership of 261.

Kansas Historical Notes

A display of museum relics featured the fall meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society at Abilene October 22, 1942. Mrs. Carl Peterson of Enterprise, president, was in charge of the program. Bert Ramsey was reelected first vice-president and Walter Wilkins of Chapman, treasurer.

Dr. James C. Malin, professor of history at the University of Kansas and associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, was elected president of the Agricultural History Society at the annual meeting in Washington, D. C., April 27, 1943. Other officers are: Dr. Theodore R. Schellenberg, of the National Archives, vice-president; Arthur G. Peterson, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, secretary-treasurer, and Everett E. Edwards, of the Department of Agriculture, editor of *Agricultural History*, the society's magazine. The society, which has an international membership of over 400, will observe its twenty-fifth anniversary at the next annual meeting at Washington in February, 1944.

At a called meeting of the Franklin County Historical Society in Ottawa May 22, 1943, Miss Florence Robinson of Ottawa, and R. H. Harrison of Wellsville, were elected directors to fill the unexpired terms of Asa Converse and W. S. Jenks, and Miss Clara Kaiser was elected to succeed Miss Robinson, who resigned as corresponding secretary-treasurer. A motion was also carried authorizing President J. E. Shinn to appoint local historians for each township.

One of the most complete histories of a Kansas community published in recent years is the 276-page, well-illustrated book, *Who's Who in Coffeyville, Kansas, and Vicinity*, by Charles Clayton Drake, which was issued early in 1943. Titles of some of the feature sections were: "Kansas"; "Montgomery County Was Carved From Wilson County in 1867, Organized in 1869"; "Courts of Montgomery County"; "Coffeyville"; "History of the Rise and Fall of the Town of Parker, 1868-1895"; "History of the Postal Service, Coffeyville, Kansas, 1869-1942"; "Daniel Votaw Colony"; "Brief Biographies of Some of Coffeyville's Past Leaders"; "Incidents of Violence in Montgomery County"; "The Dalton Raid"; "Fairs, Parks, Airports and Cemeteries, 1869-1942"; "Schools and Education in Coffeyville, Kansas, 1869-1942"; "History and Growth of Religion and Churches, Coffeyville, Kansas"; "The Story of Coffey-

ville's Utilities"; "Industrial Development and Promotional Organization"; "Transportation"; "Condensed History of the City of Cherryvale"; "Brief History of Financial Developments in Coffeyville, Kansas, 1871-1942"; "Condensed History of the Press of Coffeyville and Montgomery County"; "Letters Written by Will Rogers and Cullen Cain; a Feature Story by Wesley W. Stout"; "Some Past Highlights in the Field of Sports"; "Patriotic and Military Organizations"; "Historical Sketch of Women's Clubs and Federations, Coffeyville, Kansas"; "Agriculture and Dairying," and "Album Section of Who's Who in Coffeyville and Vicinity, Featuring Some One Hundred and Fifteen Local Persons of the Past and Present. . . ." The book was printed by the Coffeyville *Journal* Press and its typography, printing and binding are excellent.

"A Publicity Program for the Local Historical Society," is the title of the January, 1943, *Bulletin* of the American Association for State and Local History. The article, of 29 pages, was written by J. Martin Stroup, corresponding secretary of the Mifflin County (Pa.) Historical Society. It is No. 5 of the series distributed by the association from Box 6101, Washington, D. C. Other pamphlets on the management of local and state historical societies have been mentioned in this section in previous numbers of the *Quarterly*.

An index to articles on Western history was published recently by Indiana University, of Bloomington, as No. 3 of its *Social Science Series*. The book, of 263 pages, is titled *The Trans-Mississippi West: A Guide to Its Periodical Literature (1811-1938)*, and was compiled by Oscar Osburn Winther of Indiana University's department of history. Sixty professional or semi-professional periodicals and magazines were combed and the references were classified into state, regional, and topical groupings. Under "Kansas," sixty-seven items, covering four and one-half pages, were listed.

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The New England Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1855

LOUISE BARRY

INTRODUCTION

THE Emigrant Aid Company was founded in 1854, reorganized in 1855 under a new charter, and took its final form as the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Its activities from November, 1854, until March, 1855, were confined to reorganization, and to making plans for the spring season. The Missouri river was closed to navigation during the coldest months and the winter season was, in any case, an unfavorable time for introducing emigrants to Kansas.

The New England Emigrant Aid Company's first regular spring party left Boston on March 13, 1855. It is said to have numbered 200, but the names of only 186 have been found. The second party, starting a week later, consisted of about 170 persons. From this time until the middle of May emigrants set out regularly each week, but the parties rapidly dwindled in size, and after May but few were sent and these at irregular intervals.

The chief reason for this was the severe drought in Kansas in the winter of 1854 and spring of 1855. Also, prospective settlers in the early parties had been disappointed in finding so few improvements in the territory. The lack of timber lands and the scarcity of mills to make lumber were among the factors which caused many to return home in disgust or to look elsewhere for lands upon which to settle. Moreover, because of the drought the Missouri river was very low and navigation was difficult even for the light-draught steamboats. The cost of transportation on the river rose accordingly. Emigrants had been dismayed to find the fare to Kansas higher than they had been led to expect. They wrote their Eastern friends and this publicity no doubt discouraged some prospective emigrants from the undertaking. Another deterrent was the renewal of hostilities between Proslavery Missourians and the Free-State settlers in the territory. The election of March 30 was dominated by some 1,000 armed Missourians who took over voting places and rolled up an overwhelming Proslavery vote. This threat of violence was sufficient to intimidate some prospective settlers; although to others it was a challenge.

The total number of emigrants sent to Kansas in 1855 by the New England Emigrant Aid Company was about 900. The proportion of those who actually settled was much smaller than in 1854. The only noticeable difference is that they were almost exclusively New Englanders, whereas in 1854 the emigrants included many from New York state. Rhode Island, Maine and Connecticut were more largely represented in the 1855 companies.

One of the fallacies of history, still current, is the belief that Kansas in the early territorial period was populated almost entirely by settlers from New England. The large-scale operations of the Emigrant Aid Company and the wide newspaper publicity its activities received were chiefly responsible for this assumption. The following, published in the Boston *Advertiser* in November, 1855, is doubtless more nearly correct:

There is a very general impression that New England has been drained of a considerable number of her people to settle Kanzas. It is entirely false. It is not probable that more than three thousand New Englanders, men, women and children, are now in that territory. They form about a tenth part of its present population. The character of the emigration from New England, after the home sick boys came back, was of the very best, for culture, discipline, and morals. The New England settlers, therefore, take a prominent part in the affairs of the Territory, but in numbers they are in as small a proportion as we have stated.¹

The New England Emigrant Aid Company sent numerous small parties to Kansas in 1856 and appears to have continued the project on a reduced scale in 1857 and 1858. Few lists of these companies are to be found, although the names of a number of emigrants who purchased railroad tickets through the Aid Company during the years 1856-1858 appear on manuscript records in the Kansas Historical Society's Emigrant Aid Company collection.

1. Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks" (Library, Kansas State Historical Society), v. VII, p. 10, from the Salem (Mass.) *Gazette*, November 27, 1855, quoting the Boston *Advertiser*.

THE FIRST SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on March 13; Charles Robinson, of Lawrence, K. T.,
conductor.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Abbott, Francis A.....	Manufacturer..	Lowell, Mass.....	Settled near Zeandale. See his reminiscences in <i>Kansas Historical Collections</i> , v. XII, pp. 392-396.
Abbott, Mrs. Maria H.....			
Abbott, Joshua.....	Farmer.....	Dexter, Maine.....	Settled in Topeka; died there June 4, 1855.
Adams, C.....	Farmer.....	Bedford, Mass.....	
Adams, W. A.....	Carpenter.....	Milton, N. H.....	
†Ambrose, David.....	Carpenter.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	Settled in Manhattan.
Bixby, Luther.....	Farmer.....	Moretown, Vt.....	
Bliss, Alexander.....	Spar maker.....	New Bedford, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Bolles, F.....		Littleton, N. H.....	
Bolles, James G.....	Broker.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Bragg, Carver.....	Carder.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	
Bragg, Jacob.....	Spinner.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	
†Brewer, J. A.....	Carpenter.....	Greenwich, R. I.....	
Brooks, James W.....		Springvale, Maine.....	
Brown, George F.....	Carpenter.....	Pawtucket, R. I.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Brown, John.....	Farmer.....	Providence, R. I.....	
Brown, LeRoy S.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	Child; with Joseph H. Chase family.
Brown, William.....	Farmer.....	Providence, R. I.....	Settled in Topeka.
Bullard, S.....		Saxonyville, Mass.....	
Bunker, James K.....	Cabinetmaker..	Providence, R. I.....	Took claim near Topeka.
Bunker, James W.....		Providence, R. I.....	Son of James K. Bunker. 11 yrs. old.
Capwell, J.....			This ticket may not have been used.
Chase, Mrs. E..... and child.....			
Chase, Joseph H.....	Farmer.....	Newburyport, Mass.....	Settled in Topeka.
Chase, Mrs. Nancy.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Chase, Henry J.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Chase, Eliza.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Chase, Hannah.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Chase, ——.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Chase, ——.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Chase, ——.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Clealand, William.....	Farmer.....	Natick, Mass.....	
Crane, George Abel.....	Farmer.....	W. Taunton, Mass.....	Went to Manhattan, but did not stay.
Crosby, G. L.....			
Currier, Gardner.....	Stonecutter.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	
†Dame, Luther.....	Dry goods trader	Portsmouth, N. H.....	
†Davis, Francis.....		Falmouth, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.

THE FIRST SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Dean, George.....	Tanner.....	W. Taunton, Mass.....	Went to Manhattan, but did not stay.
Denison, Joseph.....	Clergyman.....	Bernardston, Mass.....	
Denison, Mrs. Sarah J. and 3 children.....			First president Kansas State College, Manhattan; died in Manhattan in 1900. The youngest child died in Kansas City, on the way to Kansas.
†Disney, J. C.....		Boston, Mass.....	
Doane, Abner.....	Mechanic; carpenter.....	Eastham, Maine.....	Settled in Topeka.
Downs, Daniel.....	Teamster.....	Cambridgeport, Mass.....	
Emerson, E.....	Varnisher; polisher.....	Boston, Mass.....	
†Emerson, Joseph Whittemore	Carpenter.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in Riley county; served in Co. A, Fifth Kansas cavalry in Civil War; died in Zeeland, February 6, 1889.
Estabrook, Mrs. — —		Cambridgeport, Mass.....	
Estabrook, William.....	Bricklayer.....	Cambridgeport, Mass.....	Misspelled "Easterbrook" on one roster; settled in Lawrence.
Estabrook, Mrs. Lucy P. and 2 children.....		Cambridgeport, Mass.....	
Evans, Betsy.....		Lynn, Mass.....	
Evans, Caroline.....		Lynn, Mass.....	
Evans, H.....	Shoemaker.....	Lynn, Mass.....	
Evans, J.....		Lynn, Mass.....	
Farnsworth, Loring.....	Varnisher; polisher.....	Somerville, Mass.....	Settled in Topeka; was first mayor of the town.
Fessenden, Timothy.....		Leominster, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Fessenden, Mrs. Timothy. and 2 children.....			
Fick, Mrs. Sarah Ann.....		New York.....	Wife and children of Henry W. Fick of the Second Party of 1854. Under 5 years.
Field, Andrew H.....		Portland, Maine.....	
*Fish, A. A.....			Settled in Topeka. <i>See Herald of Freedom</i> , June 9, 1855.
†Fisher, Henry F.....		Lawrence, Mass.....	
Fitz, George W.....		Cambridgeport, Mass.....	
†Fogg, J. M.....		Lowell, Mass.....	
Ford, Ambrose W.....	Mariner; farmer	Augusta, Maine.....	Settled in, or near Topeka. Listed erroneously on printed roster as "A. Lord."
French, George B.....		Brunswick, Maine.....	Settled in Topeka.
French, James Cary.....		Brunswick, Maine.....	Son of George B. French; served in Kansas militia in 1856, and in Kansas volunteers in Civil War.
Getchill, Benjamin.....		Springvale, Maine.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
†Gookin, W. H.....		Portsmouth, N. H.....	

THE FIRST SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
*[Gordon, William].....		Providence, R. I.	Mentioned in Miller diary.
†Gorton, G. A.	Carpenter.....	E. Greenwich, R. I.	Went to Manhattan, but did not stay.
†Graves, Converse L.	Varnisher.....	Boston, Mass.	Also appears on the MS. roster as "Thomas L." and on the printed roster as "Converse S."
Gray, Nathan H.	Varnisher.....	Boston, Mass.	
Gray, Mrs. Nathan H.		Boston, Mass.	
Gray, ——....		Boston, Mass.	Daughter.
Gray [?].		Boston, Mass.	Granddaughter.
Gray [?].		Boston, Mass.	Boy, 3 years old.
*[Grey, Samuel].....		Biddeford, Maine.	Settled in Topeka. See <i>Herald of Freedom</i> , June 9, 1855. Name spelled "Gray" in above source.
Hagee, J. W.	Farmer.....	Plymouth, Conn.	
Hagee, Mrs. J. W.		Plymouth, Conn.	
†Hall, Samuel.	Carpenter.....	Stoneham, Mass.	Settled in Topeka.
Harmon, Henry C.		Lawrence, Mass.	Settled in Topeka.
Haskell, Abner C.		N. Brookfield, Mass.	
†Haskell, Charles A.		N. Brookfield, Mass.	
†Hathaway, Charles.		Montpelier, Vt.	
Hathaway, George W.	Farmer.....	Fairhaven, Mass.	Settled in Topeka.
Henderson, William P.		Portsmouth, N. H.	Settled in Topeka.
†Herrendeen, L. M.	Cooper.....	Falmouth, Mass.	
Hersey, Ebenezer.	Shoemaker.....	Wayland, Mass.	
Hersey, Mrs. Ebenezer. and 6 children.			Aged 10, 7, 6, 3, 2 and 1, respectively.
Higgins, Iram.	Carpenter.....	Fairhaven, Mass.	
†High, W. C.	Clergyman.....	Boston, Mass.	Methodist.
†Hubbard, Moses.	Machinist.....	S. Berwick, Maine.	Settled in Topeka.
†Hubbard, Paul R.	Carpenter.....	S. Berwick, Maine.	Settled in Topeka.
Ingraham, Emory D.		Coventry, R. I.	Settled in Topeka.
Ingraham, Philip.	Farmer.....	Coventry, R. I.	Settled in Topeka, later moved to Big Blue river region(?).
†Irish, Albert.	Manufacturer... .	Biddeford, Maine.	Settled in Topeka.
†Jones, E.			
Keller, Joseph.	Cabinetmaker.. .	Baden, Germany.	
Kellogg, Kate E.	Teacher.....	Belchertown, Mass.	Opened school in Lawrence in June, 1855. See <i>Herald of Freedom</i> , June 16, 1855.
Kimball, Mrs. Frederick.		Fitchburg, Mass.	Wife of Frederick Kimball of the Third Party of 1854; settled in Lawrence.
†Kimball, G. E.	Manufacturer... .	Lawrence, Mass.	
Kimball, Mrs. Samuel.		Fitchburg, Mass.	Wife of Samuel Kimball of the Third Party of 1854; settled in Lawrence.
Kloppenburg, H. J.	Farmer.....	Lowell, Mass.	

THE FIRST SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Landon, E. A.....	Cutler.....	Plymouth, Conn.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Landon, Mrs. Maria.....			
Landon, Charles.....			8 years old.
Lewis, Samuel.....	Hairdresser.....	New York City.....	
Lewis, William B.....	Caulker.....	New York City.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Libbey, Granville.....		Saco, Maine.....	
Lincoln, J. M.....		Cambridgeport, Mass.....	
†Liscom, C.....	Farmer.....	Montpelier, Vt.....	
†Litchfield, Leonard.....		Leominster, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence.
†Livingston, B. G.....		Fitchburg, Mass.....	
†Locke, Frederick J.....	Farmer.....	W. Cambridge, Mass.....	
Lockley, J.....		Leominster, Mass.....	
Lockley, J. L.....		Leominster, Mass.....	
†Luce, John W.....	Watchmaker.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	
McNamee, James.....	Weaver.....	Millville, Mass.....	Settled in Topeka. Name appears on rosters as "J. McNamee."
Marshall, Andrew.....	Teacher.....	E. Weare, N. H.....	Settled near Zeandale; died there September 22, 1857.
†Marshall, William.....	Mason.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	
Marshall, William B.....	Farmer.....	E. Weare, N. H.....	Settled near Zeandale.
Marshall, Mrs. Anne.....			
[Mechan, Arthur].....			<i>See Herald of Freedom</i> , March 31, 1855.
†Merrill, Daniel.....		Saco, Maine.....	
Miller, Joseph C.....	Tinman.....	Providence, R. I.....	Settled in Topeka where he died in 1879.
Moore, Hanson.....	Shoemaker.....	S. Berwick, Maine.....	Possibly the same as "D. H. Moore" of the First 1855 Party who settled in Topeka. <i>See Herald of Freedom</i> , June 9, 1855.
Morrison, Abiel.....	Painter.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	
*[Mossman, John C.].....			Settled near Zeandale; later lived in Wichita.
Perry, S.....	Carpenter.....	Dighton, Mass.....	Went to Manhattan. (<i>See I. T. Goodnow's diary</i> , entry for April 3, 1855.)
Phillips, Roswell.....	Machinist.....	Saco, Maine.....	
Pike, John.....	Carpenter.....	Saco, Maine.....	Settled in Douglas county.
Pike, Mrs. Elizabeth.....			
Pike, Mary A.....			
Pike, Daniel.....			
Pillsbury, Leonard Hobart.....	Carpenter.....	Londonderry, N. H.....	Bro. of Mrs. William Marshall; settled near Zeandale.
Rawson, Orlando.....		Lawrence, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Redlon, Nathan E.....	Mason.....	Buxton, Maine.....	
†Reed, Josiah.....	Tin plater.....	Portland, Maine.....	

THE FIRST SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Rhymes, George.....	Machinist.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	.....
Rice, J. E.....	.....	Roxbury, Mass.....	.....
†Rutter, William.....	.....	Leominster, Mass.....	.....
Sawyer, William.....	Storekeeper.....	Saco, Maine.....	.....
†Seeley, R.....	Carpenter.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	"Seavy" in printed roster.
†Severance, H. M.....	.....	Cambridgeport, Mass.....	.....
*[Shattuck, Truman] ² .....	.....	Colerain, Mass.....	Settled, briefly, near present Manhattan.
Smith, Samuel.....	Shoemaker.....	Dorchester, Mass.....	.....
Smith, Samuel C.....	.....	Cambridgeport, Mass.....	Settled on the Wakarusa, some eight miles from Lawrence.
Stine, T. A.....	.....	.....	This ticket may not have been used.
Stone, Abram.....	.....	New Hampshire.....	Settled near Zeandale.
Stone, Jesse.....	.....	Medford, Mass.....	Settled in Topeka; later ran a hotel.
Stone, William Henry.....	.....	Medford, Mass.....	Son of Jesse Stone.
Stone, Mary B.....	.....	.....	.....
Swift, Francis B.....	Printer.....	Brunswick, Maine.....	Settled in Lawrence; served in First Kansas regiment in Civil War; afterwards lived in Girard.
Tabor, Horace A. W.....	Stonecutter.....	Holland, Vt.....	Settled near Zeandale; later moved to Colorado and became a millionaire from mining ventures; died in Denver in 1899.
Tolman, Charles F., Jr.....	Shoemaker.....	Gloucester, Mass.....	.....
Trask, El Nathaniel.....	.....	.....	Settled in Topeka.
†Trott, Amos.....	.....	Portsmouth, N. H.....	Settled in Topeka.
Vogel, Herman.....	Cabinetmaker.....	Saxony, Germany.....	.....
Waite, William B.....	.....	Portsmouth, N. H.....	.....
Waters, Andrew S.....	Jeweler.....	Providence, R. I.....	Settled near Topeka.
Waters, Henry P.....	Jeweler.....	Providence, R. I.....	Took claim near Topeka.
{ Wells, ³ Thomas Clarke.....	.....	Wakefield, R. I.....	Settled near Manhattan.
Wentworth, Hiram H.....	Machinist.....	Providence, R. I.....	Settled near Topeka.
*[Whiting, A. F.].....	.....	.....	Settled in Topeka. See <i>Herald of Freedom</i> , June 9, 1855.
Whittier, Lewis.....	Machinist.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	.....

2. Truman Shattuck's letter dated at Shannon, K. T., May 7, 1855, clipped in *ibid.*, v. IV, p. 138, indicates he came in this party. He states: "I arrived here on the 10th of April, being just four weeks on the road, at double the expense it was represented it would be. . . . Denison [*i. e.*, the Rev. Joseph Denison] has not arrived yet, being detained by the sickness of his child, which he has buried with lung fever. . . . Friend Goodnow has gone after him and family." Shattuck probably returned East in 1855.

3. Thomas C. Wells' letters of March and April, 1855 (*see The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, pp. 143-149), mention a companion, James _____. It appears that James was a relative, but he has not been further identified.

THE FIRST SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Concluded

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†Wilbur, Charles L.....	Engineer.....	Boston, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Wilbur, Mrs. Charles L.....	.....	Boston, Mass.....	.....
Wilson, H.....	.....	Springvale, Maine.....	.....
Wright, A. C.....	Shoemaker.....	Natick, Mass.....	.....
Wynn, Andrew.....	Weaver.....	Millville, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Wynn, Isaac.....	Engineer.....	Millville, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.
Wynn, Samuel A.....	Designer.....	Millville, Mass.....	Settled in, or near Topeka.

Chief sources used in compiling this list: (1) A manuscript roster in the J. S. Emery Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society, headed: "First Regular Spring Party under charge of Dr. Chs. Robinson. Time of Departure, March 13th 1855"; (2) "First spring party, March 18, 1855, Dr. Robinson conducting agent," printed in *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas* (Washington, 1856), 34 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Report No. 200* (Serial 869), [Sec. II] pp. 887-889; (3) Joseph C. Miller diary in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

The names of William Hutchinson and wife, and Thomas Bickerton appear on the printed roster. The Hutchinsons came with the Second Party of 1855. It seems probable that Bickerton also came with the Second Party.

The manuscript roster lists "J. Dennison, 2 ladies and three children." These names are not on the printed roster, but the Denison family did come with this party.

* Names in brackets do not appear on the manuscript or printed rosters, but have been verified from other sources as members of this company.

† Voted in the Kansas territorial election of March 30, 1855, in the first district (*i. e.*, at Lawrence). Proslaverymen from Missouri who came into Kansas and voted in this election claimed they had as much right to vote as the newly-arrived members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company party.

The first regular Spring Party of 1855 departed from the Fitchburg depot in Boston on March 13, 1855.⁴ Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, reported that the company consisted of 125 men, 23 women and 34 children—a total of 182 individuals.⁵ The conducting agent was Charles Robinson, who wrote from Rutland, Vt., on March 14:

The first Kanzas party arrived at this place about 8 o'clock this morning, all well and in good spirits. In consequence of the running of a freight train off the track, and the severe snow storm, we are several hours behind time, but shall be in Albany, fortune favoring us, in season for the evening train to Niagara Falls.

Our party was greeted on the way with cheers and good wishes for success at several of the Stations, particularly at Leominster, Fitchburg and Keene. At Fitchburg not less than one thousand of the citizens met us at the depot, and greeted us with songs and cheers that thrilled the heart of every Kanzas bound pioneer.

4. This party was preceded on March 6, 1855, by a party of some seventy persons under the guidance of Isaac T. Goodnow and Luke P. Lincoln. The company, not officially an Emigrant Aid Company party, settled at the site of present Manhattan.

5. "Trustees' Records (Emigrant Aid Co.)," v. I, pp. 85, 86.—Meeting of March 17, 1855.

The songs were sung by a company of ladies and gentlemen of Fitchburg in a very impressive manner, and were very appropriate to the occasion. The first was the prize song by Miss Larcom, and the second was an original production, supposed to be by Rev. E. Davis. . . .⁶

The route from Boston to Detroit varied from that taken by the parties of 1854. Instead of crossing Lake Erie, they went by train to Niagara Falls, crossed over to Canadian soil, then back into the United States at Detroit.

For this company the entire trip was one of delays and inconveniences. Wrote the Rev. W. C. High:

As you probably already know, our party of 200 left Boston on the 13th, and landed in Kanzas city on the 24th of March, at about 7 o'clock P. M. This was a very tedious and tiresome journey, owing in part to the state of the roads, but more to the size of our party, which continued to increase as we came West. If I do not mistake, we failed of making a single connection between Boston and St. Louis; this was very perplexing to the passengers, being compelled as they were to travel night and day, without rest or much refreshment, for 130 hours together. But I am very happy in being able to say that Dr. Robinson, under whose supervision we traveled, spared no pains on his part to render us as comfortable as possible.

From St. Louis to Kanzas city, a distance of 480 miles, we were crowded in the most uncomfortable manner; and in consequence of unavoidable exposure in our sleeping arrangements, almost every person in our party took a violent cold, from which many have since suffered severely.⁷

The journey from St. Louis to Kansas City was made on the steamboat *Sonora*. While on board, on March 24, the emigrants held a meeting and passed resolutions thanking their conducting agent and the officers of the boat for their services. Arthur Mechan was chairman of the meeting; Luther Dame was secretary.

The company, which may have numbered as high as 200 at some stage of the journey, had not more than 170 members at the end of the trip.⁸ The letter of Henry C. Harmon, dated Topeka, June 5,

6. Published in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, March 20, 1855.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, p. 50. Early in 1855 Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, offered a fifty dollar prize for a Kansas poem. Of the 89 entries, Lucy Larcom's "The Call to Kansas" was selected as the winning number.

7. Letter dated April 6, 1855, published in *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal*, 1855.—Clipping in "Kansas Territorial Clippings," v. I, pp. 104-107. High also stated in this letter: "Many of our party have been and now are sick of lung fever, induced by colds from unavoidable exposures. Several are still in Kanzas city, and among them, Bro. Joseph Denison and family. When I left that place he was confined to his bed with lung fever; his youngest child was lying at the point of death, his life having for some days been despaired of, and all his family more or less ill." He also made comments regarding the New England Emigrant Aid Company to which a number of other members of the party took exception. Their letter disputing some of High's statements was published in the *Herald of Freedom*, June 9, 1855. It was headed: "Topeka, Kan. T., June 5th, 1855," and was signed by Amos Trott, D. H. Moore, J. C. Miller, H. P. Waters, G. B. French, M. Hubbard, A. A. Fish, Samuel Gray, A. F. Whiting, P. R. Hubbard, W. Emerson and W. Henderson.

8. Statement by Charles Robinson in *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas*, [Sec. II] p. 830.

gives some information on the movements of members of this party after their arrival at Kansas City:

In Kansas City we purchased our teams (mostly ox), and after packing our baggage and what provisions we might want, started for Lawrence City, a distance of 50 miles up the Kansas river.

At this place we were to meet a Committee, previously chosen and sent ahead to explore the country, and to hear their report; we reached there after three days travel and found the committee awaiting our arrival. Their report was in favor of Topeka, a town on the Kansas river 25 miles above Lawrence, and the report was accepted.

The most of our party arrived at this place [Topeka] the first day of April, and those of them who had not become disheartened, soon went in search of claims, and succeeded in obtaining them. These claims lay within a distance of from 3 to 5 miles from the city (that is to be), and have little or no wood upon them, but have abundance of stone, clay, water, limestone, and some coal. The most of those who procured claims, and a part of those who did not, are now at work erecting buildings in the city.

Each member of our company had two city lots given him, 75 by 100 feet, provided the donee would make improvements upon one of them to the amount of \$125 in from three to nine months after settlement, the other lot on terms unconditional.⁹

Samuel Grey, who also settled in Topeka, wrote:

Nearly half of our party became homesick and have gone back, but some were really sick and obliged to return. Some seemed to think they should find farms all fenced, and houses built ready for their reception, every advantage here that they had left behind, and a rich soil, healthy climate, and in short all the luxuries of the . . . [East], and because it was not so . . . they turned around and went back well content, I suppose, to pick rocks and dig out stumps and raise their scanty crops from the barren soil of Maine. A man that comes to this country without money, must expect to meet with many privations as well as elsewhere.—Board is \$3.00 per week, and mechanics readily command \$2.00 per day. Messrs. Whiting, Irish, and myself are at work on a mill here. We intend to build us each a house in the city this summer. The *frame* will be mostly of *black-walnut*. Shall not attend to farming much this summer, as the land is not surveyed. . . . The country around this place for 8 or 10 miles is all claimed by people who have come here since last fall, and who intend to make farms, and it appears that this will be a place of some importance, perhaps the Capital of the State, when organized, at least it is talked of as such now. . . .¹⁰

Some of this party settled in Lawrence or on adjoining land in Douglas county; a few went to Manhattan and to Zeandale in Riley county. But most of those who stayed in Kansas settled in Topeka or its vicinity.

9. Clipping from the *Boston Journal*, June 25, 1855, in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. IV, p. 183.

10. Clipping from *The Union and Eastern Journal*, Biddeford, Maine, June 1, 1855, in *ibid.*, pp. 126, 127.

THE SECOND SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on March 20; John T. Farwell, of Fitchburg, Mass., conductor.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Abbott, George.....		Providence, R. I.....	
Atherton, Henry.....	Farmer.....	Roxford, Mass.....	
Atherton, Mrs. Henry.....		Roxford, Mass.....	
Atherton, Ellen M.....		Roxford, Mass.....	12 years old.
Atherton, Henry F.....		Roxford, Mass.....	4 years old.
Barton, Peter.....	Carpenter; joiner.....	Croydon, N. H.....	
Barton, Mrs. Peter.....		Croydon, N. H.....	
Barton, Mary F.....		Croydon, N. H.....	4 years old.
Barton, Frederick A.....		Croydon, N. H.....	2 years old.
Barton, Laura M.....		Croydon, N. H.....	9 months old.
Bascom, L. H.....	Shoe dealer.....	Worcester, Mass.....	Same as L. H. Bascom of the Second Party of 1854?
Bayer, Henry.....		Lawrence, Mass.....	"Bayes" on two of the rosters.
Beath, Charles S.....	Carpenter.....	Bath, Maine.....	
Beatley, Robinson.....		Providence, R. I.....	"Bentley" on two of the rosters.
Bickerton, Thomas.....	Machinist.....	Portland, Maine.....	Settled in Douglas county. See his reminiscences in <i>Kansas Historical Collections</i> , v. I-II, pp. 214-221.
Blaisdell, James H.....	Carpenter.....	Southampton, N. H.....	"John H." on two rosters.
Brown, Israel H.....	Farmer.....	Wilmot, N. H.....	
Brown, Jonathan.....	Farmer.....	Wilmot, N. H.....	
Brown, Joseph.....	Carpenter.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
Brown, Mrs. Susan W.....		Lowell, Mass.....	
Brown, Onslow F.....		Lowell, Mass.....	3 years old.
Brown, Levi E.....	Farmer.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
Burrows, E. W.....	Carpenter.....	Providence, R. I.....	
Carr, Robert W.....	Lawyer.....	Mechanic Falls, Maine.....	
Chappell, Edward.....	Farmer.....	Blackstone, Mass.....	
Chappell, Mrs. Edward.....		Blackstone, Mass.....	
Chase, Benjamin E.....		Salem, Mass.....	
Choate, Isaac P.....	Teacher.....	Naples, Maine.....	
Colby, Christopher C.....	Farmer; carpenter.....	Springfield, N. H.....	
Colby, John D.....	Farmer; machinist.....	Springfield, N. H.....	
Colby, Samuel.....	Farmer; carpenter.....	Springfield, N. H.....	
Cowee, Carlos.....	Bookkeeper.....	Providence, R. I.....	"Cooley" on one roster; "Cool" on another.
Cutler, ——.....		Vermont.....	Joined after party started.
Damon, Joseph Thomas.....	Farmer.....	Cochituate, Mass.....	
Darling, Thomas.....	Farmer.....	Middleboro, Mass.....	
Davis, Benjamin.....	Farmer.....	Pawtucket, R. I.....	
Davis, James.....		Pawtucket, R. I.....	12 years old; son of Benjamin Davis.

THE SECOND SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Dole, Henry S.	Carpenter.	Lowell, Mass.	
Douglas, David.	Farmer.	Pawtucket, R. I.	
Fall, Lorenzo D.	Carpenter.	N. Andover, Mass.	"Full" on one roster.
Farnum, Joseph.	Carpenter.	Salem, Mass.	"James" on one roster.
Fish, Edmund.	Teacher.	Schoolcraft, Mich.	Joined after party started.
Fracker, George.	Laborer.	Blackstone, Mass.	"Fricker" on one roster.
Francis, Samuel. ....	.....	Brownville, N. Y.	Joined after party started.
Fuller, Albert.	Carpenter.	Pawtucket, R. I.	
Goodrich, Joshua C.	Farmer.	Mt. Vernon, N. H.	"Josiah" on two rosters.
Goodwin, James R.	Painter.	Boston, Mass.	
Green, Joseph G.	Shoemaker.	Brattleboro, Vt.	
Green, Mrs. Joseph G.	Tailoress.	Brattleboro, Vt.	
Green, Herbert F. ....	.....	Brattleboro, Vt.	11 years old.
Green, Albert M. ....	.....	Brattleboro, Vt.	8 years old.
Grout, Adamantha. ....	.....	Brattleboro, Vt.	Not on printed roster.
Guild, Edwin.	Teacher; farmer	Walpole, N. H.	
Hackett, Nathan.	Manufacturer.	Lowell, Mass.	
Hackett, Mrs. Lavinia. ....	.....	Lowell, Mass.	
Hackett, Vinella. ....	.....	Lowell, Mass.	5 months old.
Hagar, Daniel.	Farmer.	Rindge, N. H.	
Hagar, Mrs. Daniel. ....	.....	Rindge, N. H.	
Halbaur, Ernest.	Operative.	Dedham, Mass.	
Halbaur, Charles. ....	.....	Dedham, Mass.	
Halbaur, Christiana. ....	.....	Dedham, Mass.	
Haskell, James S.	Factory operative.	Worcester, Mass.	
Haskell, John.	Factory operative.	Worcester, Mass.	
Haskell, Leverett.	Farmer.	Claremont, N. H.	
Haskell, Mrs. Leverett. ....	.....	Claremont, N. H.	
Hodgdon, Thomas.	Machinist.	S. Berwick, Maine.	
Horne, Mrs. Maria L. ....	.....	Woburn, Mass.	Wife of Daniel H. Horne of Topeka.
Horne, Georgiana. ....	.....	Woburn, Mass.	Daughter, 3 years old.
Hovey, William H.	Farmer.	Cambridge, Mass.	
Hovey, Mrs. William H. ....	.....	Cambridge, Mass.	
Hovey, Francis W. ....	.....	Cambridge, Mass.	
Hutchinson, William.	Editor.	Randolph, Vt.	Settled in Lawrence; wrote for Eastern newspapers.
Hutchinson, Mrs. William. ....	.....	Randolph, Vt.	
Hutchinson, Alma V. ....	.....	Randolph, Vt.	4 years old.
Hutchinson, Helen M. ....	.....	Randolph, Vt.	9 months old.
Janes, John.	Farmer.	Foxborough, Mass.	
Johnson, Alonzo.	Farmer.	Grafton, N. H.	
Johnson, Nathan.	Farmer.	Grafton, N. H.	
Jones, Sarah.	Tailoress.	Keene, N. H.	Married C. H. Carpenter of Fourth Party of 1854, on April 5, 1855, at Lawrence.
King, John L.	Farmer.	Brattleboro, Vt.	

THE SECOND SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Lee, Bernard.....	Operative.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
Lee, James.....	Operative.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
Lee, Patrick.....	Operative.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
Lowe, Willard H.....	Farmer.....	Fitchburg, Mass.....	Returned to Fitchburg.
McCabe, John.....		Providence, R. I.....	
Matone, Isaac.....	Blacksmith.....	Walpole, N. H.....	"Mattoon" on two rosters.
Mayo, Elisha F.....	Farmer.....	Orleans, Mass.....	
Miller, Charles.....	Shoemaker.....	Walpole, N. H.....	
Miller, Mrs. Euphasia.....		Walpole, N. H.....	
Mitchell, William.....	Shoemaker.....	Bridgewater, Mass.....	
Morse, William H.....	Ship joiner.....	Topsham, Maine.....	
Newton, William M.....	Attorney.....	Jamestown, N. Y.....	Joined after party started.
Nichols, George W.....	Merchant.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Nichols, George W.....	Publisher.....	Brattleboro, Vt.....	Died August 29, 1855, at Ottawa.
Nichols, Mrs. Clarina I. Howard	Editress.....	Brattleboro, Vt.....	See, also, Fourth Party of 1854.
Nichols, George B.....		Brattleboro, Vt.....	11 years old.
Page, Thomas.....	Machinist.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	
Page, Mrs. Isabella.....		Lawrence, Mass.....	
Palmer, David W.....	Machinist; gunsmith.....	S. Andover, Mass.....	"Daniel W." on two rosters.
Parkin, John A.....		Boston, Mass.....	
Parkin, David.....		Boston, Mass.....	15 yrs. old; son of John A. Parkin.
Parkin, Harriet.....		Boston, Mass.....	Daughter of John A. Parkin.
Pearce, George W.....	Tin manufacturer.....	Providence, R. I.....	
Pearce, Mrs. George W.....		Providence, R. I.....	
Pearce, Francis.....		Providence, R. I.....	14 years old.
Pearce, Leonard.....		Providence, R. I.....	13 years old.
Pearce, —.....		Providence, R. I.....	10 years old; daughter.
Pearce, James.....		Providence, R. I.....	3 years old.
Pearce, George A.....		Providence, R. I.....	1 year old.
Pearce, Thomas E.....	Carpenter.....	Walpole, N. H.....	"Pierce" on two rosters.
Pierce, Jabez N.....	Trader.....	New Bedford, Mass.....	Did not remain in Kansas.
Platts, Aaron E.....	Farmer.....	Ridge, N. H.....	Settled in Douglas county; died in Lawrence in 1910.
Platts, Mrs. Aaron E.....		Ridge, N. H.....	
Potter, Ezra A.....	Painter.....	Providence, R. I.....	
Potter, George A.....		Providence, R. I.....	
Potter, Otis.....	Jeweler.....	Providence, R. I.....	
Pratt, J. C.....	Farmer.....	Randolph, Vt.....	Name appears only on MS. list in Hutchinson Collection.
Pray, William F.....		S. Berwick, Maine.....	
Prescott, Samuel M.....	Blacksmith.....	Southampton, N. H.....	
Preston, Marcellus.....	Farmer.....	Orange, N. H.....	
Preston, Monroe.....	Farmer.....	Orange, N. H.....	
Rawson, Harrison K.....	Carpenter.....	Worcester, Mass.....	
Rawson, Mrs. Harrison K.....		Worcester, Mass.....	
Rawson, Ella.....		Worcester, Mass.....	10 years old.
Rawson, Wallace.....		Worcester, Mass.....	7 years old.
Rawson, Charles A.....		Worcester, Mass.....	4 years old.
Rawson, George A.....		Worcester, Mass.....	1 year old.

THE SECOND SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Richardson, G. P.	Grocer.	Providence, R. I.	
Rowe, S. C.	Painter.	Boston, Mass.	
Ruga, Charles.	Carpenter.	Worcester, Mass.	"Runja" on two rosters.
Ruga, Mrs. Minnie.		Worcester, Mass.	
Ruga, Louisa.		Worcester, Mass.	11 years old.
Ruga, Christiana.		Worcester, Mass.	4 years old.
Sargent, James.	Farmer.	Dummerston, Vt.	
Sargent, Wallace.	Farmer.	Dummerston, Vt.	
Sawyer, — —.		Hartford, Vt.	Joined after party started.
Shaw, John N.	Farmer.	Grafton, N. H.	
Smith, A.		Brownville, N. Y.	Joined after party started.
Smith, Benjamin.	Carpenter.	Southboro, Mass.	
Smith, Charles Wolcott.	Carpenter.	Lowell, Mass.	<i>See, also, Second Party of 1854.</i> Settled near Lawrence.
Smith, Mis. Lucretia B.		Lowell, Mass.	Died August 17, 1859.
Smith, Elbridge G.		Southboro, Mass.	
Smith, F.		Brownville, N. Y.	Joined after party started.
Stowe, Benjamin.	Manufacturer.	Rindge, N. H.	
Stowe, Mrs. Benjamin.		Rindge, N. H.	
Stowe, Benjamin F.		Rindge, N. H.	9 months old.
Stowe, Warren.	Farmer.	Rindge, N. H.	
Sumner, Thaddeus E.	Merchant.	Boston, Mass.	"Shad E. Sumner" on printed roster.
Tansler, Adolphus.	Manufacturer.	Dedham, Mass.	
Thomas, Charles H.	Farmer.	Biddeford, Maine.	
Thomas, Mrs. Charles H.		Biddeford, Maine.	
Thomas, Edward.		Biddeford, Maine.	16 years old.
Thomas, Mary.		Biddeford, Maine.	13 years old.
Thomas, Dolly.		Biddeford, Maine.	11 years old.
Thomas, George W.		Biddeford, Maine.	3 years old.
Thomas, Nathaniel M.	Mason.	Wayland, Mass.	
Thurston, Phebe A.		Lowell, Mass.	Married John L. Harding in Lawrence, January 2, 1856.
Tidd, Andrew H.	Carpenter.	Portland, Maine.	Appears only on MS. roster in Hutchinson Collection.
Trott, Isaac C.	Shipmaster.	Bath, Maine.	
Trott, Walter C.	Sailor.	Bath, Maine.	
Turner, Edward.		Olneyville, R. I.	
Walker, George.	Currier.	Pawtucket, R. I.	
Walton, Edward A.	Farmer.	Salem, Mass.	
Whitcomb, Albert.	Tailor.	Keene, N. H.	Settled near Osawatomie.
Whitcomb, Mrs. Albert.		Keene, N. H.	
Whitney, Mrs. S.		Dummerston, Vt.	Widow.
Wilson, John N.	Farmer.	Worcester, Mass.	
Wilson, Walter.	Farmer.	Worcester, Mass.	
Woodward, J.		Lawrence, Mass.	"Edmund Woodward" on two rosters.

THE SECOND SPRING PARTY OF 1855—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Wright, Alpheus H.....	Farmer.....	Westford, Mass.....	
Wright, Erastus.....	Farmer.....	Westford, Mass.....	
Wright, Wilbur F.....	Farmer.....	Westford, Mass.....	"Erastus E. Wright" on two rosters.
Young, Charles H.....	Machinist.....	Lowell, Mass.....	

Sources used in compiling this list: "List of persons composing the second regular party sent by the N. E. A. Co. for Kansas Ter. Mch. 20, 1855 in charge of J. T. Farwell of Fitchburg, Mass., Manufacturer of tools," in G. W. Hutchinson Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society; a list in a record book among the Emigrant Aid papers, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society; "Second party, March 20, 1855, John T. Farwell conducting agent," printed in *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas*, [Sec. II] pp. 889-891. There are many points of disagreement in these lists. The most complete list (including a number of individuals who joined the party on the way) is the MS. in the Hutchinson Collection. It has been used as the basic list in compiling this roster.

The Second Party of 1855 left Boston on March 20, under the guidance of Deacon J. T. Farwell, of Fitchburg, Mass. In the company at that time were 104 men, 23 women and 30 children or a total of 157 individuals.¹¹ There were accessions en route and the roster herein printed contains 170 names.

The St. Louis *Intelligencer* of March 26 printed this comment:

A company, consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven persons, among whom were twenty ladies, arrived yesterday morning on the steamer *Reindeer*, *en route* for Kansas. They are all from the New England States, and came out under auspices of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. They are to settle at Lawrence, on the Kansas river. The company is under the lead of Mr. Farwell, of Fitchburg, Mass., who, some years since was celebrated as a manufacturer of scythes. Among the emigrants is an own cousin of President Pierce.¹²

Mrs. Clarina I. H. Nichols, member of the party, wrote in a letter dated April 5 at Lawrence to the Keene (N. H.) *News*:

We . . . arrived at St. Louis Sunday, A. M., the 25th [of March], and went directly on board the *Kate Swenney* (P. M. Chouteau capt; Messrs. Chouteau and Hopkins clerks) where we were entertained in a most kindly manner and fared well till we left Kansas city for an overland route to this place [Lawrence]. We set sail from St. Louis Monday, 4 o'clock P. M. and did not arrive at Kansas city till about 2 o'clock P. M., the next Monday [April 2], the river being very low, so that we spent much time on the sand bars—eighteen hours on one of them. Our party numbered one hundred and

11. "Trustees' Records," v. I, p. 90.—Meeting of March 24, 1855.

12. Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, p. 58.

forty, exclusive of children. Many sterling men and women, and some miserable *men*—*a few* drunk nearly all the time.¹³

Mrs. Nichols and her party and the Hutchinson family hired a covered carriage in Kansas City to take them to Lawrence. Many others of the party also went to Lawrence, some staying only one night before deciding to return East. These were mostly the young, single men. Wrote Mrs. Nichols: "They were disappointed in not finding work ready for them, and it would seem did not come to take farms unless they could find them *in the city*, or very near it. (I suspect they were afraid of the Missourians, as it was just then the governor was threatened.)"¹⁴

The Nichols family did not remain in Lawrence but went to Osawatomie to join Mrs. Nichols' son A. O. Carpenter¹⁵ who had taken a claim there. Others of the Second Party also settled in, or near Osawatomie. The following letter by an unidentified member of the party is dated "Osawattomie, Kansas Terr., April 20, 1855":

. . . Three of our company bought a two-horse wagon at St. Louis, took it on board the boat up to Kansas, there we bought a yoke of oxen, and what provisions we thought would stand us three months; this we have since learned was a good move. Had we not done so, we might have starved before this; that is one reason why many are going back, they have no conveniences for traveling, and carry no provisions with them, and hunger and fatigue, with a little lack of nerve, are apt to turn a man's face towards home. Our party split at Kansas city, about thirty came this course, and the remaining went to Lawrence and Fort Riley. I think we made a good choice in coming here; a number of men living here have been at Fort Riley and Big Blue, and say that they prefer this section.—Our party started from Kansas city Monday P. M., drove as far as Westport and camped in our tent over night. We arrived at this place, about 50 miles from Kansas city, on Wednesday night [April 4].

I have a bottom timber claim, which was about 140 acres of timber, and 20 acres of prairie land, bounded on one side by a creek. . . . I am between two and three miles from where they will put up two mills this summer. I have two New Hampshire men adjoining me, and a number of Massachusetts men are within two or three miles of me. . . .¹⁶

Mrs. Nichols in a letter dated April 7 stated that several of the Second Party found claims about five miles from Topeka.¹⁷ This company seems to have become rather scattered over the territory. There is little available information about individual members of the company.

13. Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 241. The steamboat was the *Kate Swinney*.

14. Another letter, dated April 7, in *ibid.*

15. A. O. Carpenter, son of Mrs. Nichols by her first marriage, came out to Kansas in the Fourth Party of 1854 and remained through the winter of 1854-1855.

16. Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. IV, p. 189.

17. Clipping in *ibid.*, v. III, p. 242.

THE THIRD SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on March 27; Dr. Amory Hunting,¹⁸ of Providence, R. I., conductor.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Armington, Russell D.		Providence, R. I.	
Booram, Benjamin E.	Carpenter.	Taunton, Mass.	"Benj. C." on printed roster.
Booram, John B.		Taunton, Mass.	10 years old.
Booram, James B.		Taunton, Mass.	10 years old.
Buffum, Edward S.	Shoemaker.	Salem, Mass.	Settled first at Lawrence; later moved to farm near the town.
Buffum, Mrs. Edward S.		Salem, Mass.	
Buffum, George.	Carpenter.	Salem, Mass.	
Burt, John S.		Sutton, Mass.	
Coleman, L. Dwight.	Carpenter.	Northampton, Mass.	Settled in Douglas county.
Cone, Rev. William M.	Clergyman.	Pawtucket, R. I.	"Did not go up the river Apr. 20, boat money returned."—Note on manuscript roster.
Dow, Johnson S.	Tailor.	Hartford, Conn.	"John T. Dow" on printed roster.
Dow, Mrs. Johnson S.		Hartford, Conn.	
Dow, —		Hartford, Conn.	3 years old.
Dunn, Leonard.		Northampton, Mass.	
Earle, William.		Claremont, N. H.	
Earle, William Dewitt.		Claremont, N. H.	"William Dewitt" on printed roster.
Eaton, Charles.		Peterborough, N. H.	
Eaton, Charles R.		Peterborough, N. H.	Child.
Eaton, Timothy.	Shoe manufacturer.	W. Cambridge, Mass.	
Farrington, Ebenezer.	Farmer.	Francistown, N. H.	
Fisher, Samuel.	Farmer.	Greenfield, N. H.	
Goodnow, William E.	Printer.	Norway, Maine.	Settled near Manhattan; brother of Isaac T. Goodnow.
Gray, Lorenzo.	Carpenter.	Newport, R. I.	"Alonzo" on printed roster.
Gross, W. Y.	Carpenter.	Duxbury, Mass.	
Hibbard, G. W. M.	Blacksmith.	Lisbon, N. H.	"W. M. Hilburn" on one manuscript list.
Hicks, Joseph.	Shoemaker.	Plaistow, N. H.	
Holcomb, Cornelius W.		Northampton, Mass.	Settled near Osawatomie.
Holcomb, Mrs. Cornelius W.		Northampton, Mass.	
Hubon, Frederick.	Carpenter.	Salem, Mass.	
Hubon, Mrs. Frederick.		Salem, Mass.	
Jones, Sanford.		Oxford, Mass.	"Sandford" on printed roster.
Kendall, Franklin.	Farmer; sailor.	Boston, Mass.	
Keys, Daniel.	Farmer.	Claremont, N. H.	"Keyse" on printed roster.
Lee, Allen B.	Carpenter.	Cumberland, R. I.	Settled near Manhattan.
Lee, G. W.		Cumberland, R. I.	Settled near Manhattan.
Lee, Mrs. G. W.		Cumberland, R. I.	"Mrs. H. H. Lee" on printed roster.

18. "Dr. Amory Hunting, long known as one of the firmest, self-sacrificing temperance men in Rhode Island, will leave us for Kansas today. . . ."—Providence (R. I.) *Daily Tribune*, March 26, 1855, in *ibid.*, p. 59.

THE THIRD SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Leis, Henry.....	Printer.....	Providence, R. I.....	Settled in Lawrence.....
Leis, Mrs. Catherine.....		Providence, R. I.....	
Leis, William.....		Providence, R. I.....	
Leis, George.....		Providence, R. I.....	
Lewis, Francis.....	Machinist.....	W. Cambridge, Mass.....	
McHugh, Patrick.....		Sutton, Mass.....	"Patrick Welch" on printed roster.
Mather, J. N.....	Painter.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	"J. N. Mathes" on printed roster.
Melcher, John A.....	Tailor.....	Salem, Mass.....	
Miles, Augustus.....	Engineer.....	Concord, Mass.....	
Morse, George M.....	Expressman.....	Providence, R. I.....	
O'Donnell, John.....		Boston, Mass.....	Child; with John G. Ricker.
Parsons, E. C.....	Farmer.....	Hartford, Conn.....	"E. C. Barrows" on one manuscript roster.
Peckham, Asher R.....	Carpenter.....	Taunton, Mass.....	"Reekam" on one roster.
Peckham, ——		Taunton, Mass.....	9 years old; girl.
Peckham, ——		Taunton, Mass.....	7 years old; boy.
Peckham, ——		Taunton, Mass.....	5 years old; boy.
Redfield, Joseph.....		Hartford, Conn.....	
Redfield, Mrs. Joseph.....		Hartford, Conn.....	
and 2 children.....		Hartford, Conn.....	Under 4 years.
Rehew, Joseph.....	Carpenter.....	Salem, Mass.....	"Kehew" on printed roster.
Ricker, John G.....	Farmer.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Ridfier, Daniel.....	Tailor.....	Hartford, Conn.....	"Daniel Rid" on printed roster.
Ridfier, Mrs. Daniel.....		Hartford, Conn.....	
Ridfier, ——		Hartford, Conn.....	3 years old.
Rogers, Orrin.....	Trader.....	Hartford, Conn.....	
Rogers, Mrs. Orrin.....		Hartford, Conn.....	
Rowe, George.....	Farmer.....	Lyme, N. H.....	
Rowe, Jacob.....	Farmer.....	Lyme, N. H.....	
Sawin, Charles L.....		Littleton, Mass.....	
Scott, David.....	Carpenter.....	Providence, R. I.....	
Seagrave, Edward.....	Minister.....	Providence, R. I.....	
Seagrave, David W.....		Providence, R. I.....	14 years old.
Shepherd, John W.....	Clerk.....	Nashua, N. H.....	"Shepard" on printed roster.
Smith, Charles R.....	Tin plater.....	E. Cambridge, Mass.....	
Smith, Charles W.....		Albany, N. Y.....	
Smith, Mrs. Charles W.....		Albany, N. Y.....	
Swett, J.....	Carpenter.....	Claremont, N. H.....	
Taber, Richard M.....	Sailmaker.....	New Bedford, Mass.....	"M. M. Tabor" on one roster.
Taber, Mrs. Richard M.....		New Bedford, Mass.....	
Thurlow, Stephen H.....	Carpenter.....	Newburyport, Mass.....	
Wallingford, Miss E.....	Teacher.....	Claremont, N. H.....	"Walington" on one list.
Wardwell, Addison.....	Farmer.....	Penobscot, Maine.....	Settled at Osawatomie.
Wardwell, Mary.....		Penobscot, Maine.....	Sister of Addison Wardwell.
Webb, George W.....		Sutton, Mass.....	
Webb, Henry C.....		Sutton, Mass.....	

THE THIRD SPRING PARTY OF 1855—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Winslow, James.....		New Bedford, Mass.....	
Winslow, Mrs. James.....		New Bedford, Mass.....	
Wright, T. J.	Farmer.....	Claremont, N. H.....	
Wright, ——		Claremont, N. H.....	8 years old; daughter.

Chief sources used in compiling this list: A printed roster headed "Third party, March 27, 1855, Dr. Hunting conducting agent," in *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas*, [Sec. II] pp. 891, 892; a manuscript list in a record book in the Emigrant Aid Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society; a manuscript list headed "List of the Kansas Party—Armory Hunting," in the Aid Collection.

The Third Spring Party left Boston on March 27 under the charge of Dr. Amory Hunting of Providence, R. I. There were in the group at the time of departure 57 men, 13 women and 14 children—a total of 84 individuals.¹⁹

One of the party, from Salem, Mass., wrote on March 30 from Detroit:

Arrived in Rutland [Vt.] at 10 P. M., cold and weary, and we all lodged at one of the best houses I ever was in. Next morning at 6 o'clk, started for Albany, and arrived at about noon. Here we had the pleasure of seeing our baggage handled rather roughly, one of the Salem men had the end of his tool chest stove in, while others had straps torn off and trunks broken open. There was much complaint also of the enormous freight charges. Started for Rochester at 1 P. M. arrived 10½ P. M. This is a splendid city and they have things in shape. 8¼ next morning resumed our journey for the suspension bridge; arrived at 1 P. M. We were detained by snow on the track half an hour, and the engine left us two miles from the station to go for assistance. Crossed the bridge in the cars, and had a view of . . . [Niagara] falls, stopped two hours here. At 2 P. M., started for Detroit and arrived at 3 next morning, and are to start again at 9½. We have had very pleasant weather considering the season—snow in the morning, and bare ground in the afternoon, this morning pleasant.²⁰

The emigrants reached St. Louis on April 1. There they were dismayed to learn that passenger and freight charges on steamboats running to Kansas City had been increased. This was because of the very low stage of the Missouri river. Only a few light-draught boats were able to navigate the stream. Some of the company were inclined to blame the New England Emigrant Aid Company for the predicament in which they found themselves. The *National Aegis*, Worcester, on April 11, carried this article:

We have received a letter from some members of the party of Emigrants who went from here on Tuesday, March 27th, in which it is stated that the

19. "Trustees' Records," v. I, p. 94.—Meeting of March 31, 1855.

20. Salem (Mass.) *Gazette*, April 3, 1855.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, p. 80.

whole party, one hundred and twenty in number, were perfectly disgusted with the pretensions and management of the Emigrant Aid Company, and the whole party advise their Eastern friends and neighbors, if they are going to Kansas, to go any way but under the direction of the Emigrant Aid Company.

The letter is written at St. Louis, where the party arrived Sunday morning. . . . When the party gets to St. Louis, all but ten dollars worth of the tickets are used up. No boat runs from St. Louis to Kansas for less fare than fifteen dollars, and Emigrants, who have the Emigrant Aid Company's tickets have to pay five dollars additional from St. Louis to Kansas city.²¹

The letter was signed by only three of the party, and while it reflected the opinion of many of the emigrants, there was nothing to do but make the best possible arrangements for reaching Kansas City.

A letter by a woman member of the company describes what happened to a few of the emigrants. It is dated "Lawrence City, K. T., April 16, 1855":

Our party . . . was divided at . . . [St. Louis]. Our party, that is all of the Salem folks, and a few others, including Dr. Hunting, the agent, went on board the *El Paso*, by paying two dollars and a half; the others went in the *Sam Cloon*, at five dollars. We all regretted the division, for I tell you there were some fine people in our company. Well, those of us on the *E. P.* arrived in Kanzas City on Friday [April 6], about six o'clock, P. M., and the others early the next morning, and Saturday was spent in determining where to go. Most of them fixed on what is called the Osage country, and Joseph [?] thought he would go there too. I tried to persuade him to come to Lawrence, but he thought it would be for his interest to go some other way, and I do not know but that he was right, for, if he had come here, he would have had nothing to do at his trade, or at anything that I know of. The reason why the carpenters, and in fact almost every body else, are idle, is the want of material—there is no lumber. That old saw-mill, that was going to supply all the people with timber for their houses, is a perfect failure; it needs repairing every two or three days, in order to have it do any thing. If it was a good one, it would not half supply the demand. There are two more that will be in operation if they ever get here, but when that event will take place is uncertain, as the machinery is to be brought up on a steamer, and they cannot ply on the river until it rises. . . .

There has been no rain here since last May or June. What do you think of that? The weather here is any thing but delightful. You must naturally suppose that it would be very dusty; well, so it is, and such winds as we have here you know nothing about. We do not have windy days, such as you have East, but it blows a perfect whirlwind for two or three days and nights, so that I can scarcely stand up when out of doors, and a cloud of dust fills your mouth and eyes. I never had any idea of dirt or dirty clothes, until my arrival here; and, for all the water we use, we have to go as far as from Randall street to foot of Buffum street. For washing, we can dip it out of a kind of

21. *The National Aegis*, Worcester, April 11, 1855.—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 104.

pool; but, for drinking and making tea, we catch it as it oozes from the spring, which operation occupies usually about half an hour. There are two or three first rate springs in the ravine. . . .

We have hotter weather here in April than you have in July. . . . It is said to be quite sickly in this place, and I should think it must be. E. has been quite sick with dysentery, or nearly that, but he is better now. . . . He never waited to get rested after we got here, but went tramping off five or six miles in the hot sun, then he and G. and D. went up to work on the house, and he got sick. . . . They have all gone up to finish the house, and we expect to move up tomorrow. Then I shall be lonesome enough—no neighbor within half a mile. I do not have any neighbors here; I have seen but two or three women to speak with since I came here. . . .

Everything here is enormously high, and half the time you cannot get what you want at all. The difficulty of getting goods brought up from Kanzas City, and the high price for freight, makes every thing as high, and some things nearly double, what they are East—among them are corn-meal, sugar, molasses, salt, spices of all kinds, &c. White beans are ten cents per pound, or six dollars a bushel, and not to be had at that; milk, ten cents a quart; and I have not seen a bit of butter since I came into the territory. . . .

I have something of a family, eight in number, which is rather more than I care about, and more than I can take care of this hot weather. We have but one room, in which we all eat, drink, and sleep, and that is not as large as your kitchen, and has got four chests, two trunks, a cook stove, an apology for a table, half a dozen bags, three or four stools, &c. So you see I have not a great deal of elbow room. Up on the farm it will be rather better. . . .

And now, dear sisters, good bye; you cannot remember me as I do you, for you are in your pleasant homes, and I am a stranger in a strange land, while every thing around you and your distant home wears a charm.²²

The Salem *Gazette* states that the writer of the above letter is "the wife of one of our Salem mechanics." It seems quite certain that she was Mrs. Edward S. Buffum.

The "Osage country" to which she refers was the region in and around Osawatomie.²³ Quite a number of the Third Spring Party settled in that vicinity. The letter of an unidentified member of the company dated "Osawatomie, K. T., April 15," gives some information on the settlement:

. . . On our arrival at . . . [Kansas City], we immediately formed a small party, consisting of four gentlemen and a lady and her child from Salem, and a gentleman and his sister from the State of Maine; and, having purchased a quantity of provisions, cooking utensils, and tools, we started for Osawatomie, K. T., situated about fifty miles from Kanzas City, in a southerly direction, where we arrived, after a very hard and laborious journey, on Thursday, April 12th. Osawatomie is a beautiful location, on the banks of the Osage river, with a rich fertile soil, and plenty of timber land. Considering

22. Salem (Mass.) *Gazette*, June 5, 1855.—*Ibid.*, v. IV, pp. 140, 141.

23. Osawatomie was founded in October, 1854, by Orville C. Brown, of Brooklyn, N. Y. In the spring of 1855 Samuel Geer opened the first store.

the short time which has elapsed since its settlement, (eight months,) it is in a very flourishing condition—having many houses, a store where can be found all kinds of goods, calicoes and hard-ware, (for which we have to pay high prices). We have also a stage running between this place and Kanzas City. They are building a ferry boat for the river; and there is to be a saw mill put up in the summer. There has been no rain to speak of since last June; and if it does not rain soon there will be a poor crop. The nights are chilly and the wind blows continually. We go out gunning every day, game being very plenty; some of our party saw two deers yesterday. We have not seen any Indians since we have been in the place; but they have been living here all winter. We come across their wigwams in the woods occasionally, built of bark. The first death that has occurred here since the settlement was that of a child, aged two years. Not having any boards to make a coffin, they manufactured one from a shoe box. We are encamped in our tents at present, but shall build cabins as soon as we get a location to suit us, most of the land having been taken up before we arrived here. This letter is written on a tub turned bottom up, under a large oak tree, beside the river. We take our meals from off a trunk while sitting upon the ground. Wages are \$1.25 a day, and found—poor living at that. Ploughing has not yet been commenced.²⁴

THE FOURTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on April 3; Rev. Richard Knight, of Holyoke, Mass., conductor.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
††Abbey, George M.....	.....	Belchertown, Mass.....	.....
††Aldrich, Hiram.....	.....	Monson, Mass.....	.....
*††Allen, Henry R.....	Trader.....	Chicopee, Mass.....	.....
*††Athearn, Caleb F.....	Farmer.....	W. Tisbury, Mass.....	.....
*††Athearn, Charles G.....	Farmer.....	W. Tisbury, Mass.....	Died in Hampden in 1855.
††Beckford, Jacob O.....	.....	Salem, Mass.....	.....
*††Blaisdell, William, Jr.....	Machinist.....	Chicopee, Mass.....	.....
††Bliss, Harvey, Jr.....	.....	Monson, Mass.....	Secretary of the Hampden County Colony.
*††Chapin, James.....	Farmer.....	Sturbridge, Mass.....	Died in Hampden in 1855.
*††Chapin, Joseph C.....	Trader.....	W. Springfield, Mass.....	.....
*††Chapin, Joseph L.....	Printer.....	Palmer, Mass.....	Died in Hampden in 1855.
* Chapin, Mrs. Joseph L.....	.....	Palmer, Mass.....	.....
* Chase, Caleb B.....	Carpenter.....	.....	.....
* Chatterton, Edwin S.....	Farmer.....	Aeworth, N. H.....	.....
*††Church, F. B.....	Farmer.....	Middlefield, Mass.....	.....
*††Church, George H.....	Carpenter.....	Chicopee, Mass.....	.....
*††Clark, Joseph A. D.....	Carpenter.....	Pomfret, Vt.....	.....
[Clarke, Sylvester H.].....	.....	Clyde, N. Y.....	Not on roster; Clarke in his reminiscences says he came with this party.

²⁴. Published in the *Essex County Mercury*, Salem, Mass., May 4, 1855.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, p. 288.

THE FOURTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855—*Continued*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
†‡Crocker, Nathan F.		Westfield, Mass.	
* Crowell, Calvin.	Farmer.	Sandwich, Mass.	
* Crowell, Hiram.	Carpenter.	Sandwich, Mass.	
*†‡Currier, L. G.	Mechanic.	Chicopee, Mass.	
*†‡Dagenkalb, Charles.	Farmer.	Palmer, Mass.	
*† Denecke, Theodore.	Tailor.	Palmer, Mass.	
*†‡Eaton, William J.		E. Longmeadow, Mass.	
†‡Ela, ²⁵ W. A.		Monson, Mass.	President of the Hampden County Colony. Mrs. Ela died in March, 1866. Mr. Ela removed to Emporia in August, 1866.
Ela, Mrs. Almira.		Monson, Mass.	
†‡Ela, William Henry.		Monson, Mass.	Elder son of W. A. Ela; served in Fifth Kansas cavalry in Civil War.
Ela, George A.		Monson, Mass.	Younger son of W. A. Ela; killed in Baxter Springs massacre October 6, 1863.
* Evans, James M.	Farmer.	Sanbornton, N. H.	
* Ewer, Edward W.	Farmer.	Sandwich, Mass.	
* Foss, Stephen.	Farmer.	Northfield, N. H.	
* Goss, R. G.	Baker.	Salem, Mass.	
*†‡Grant, Charles H.	Millwright.	Springfield, Mass.	
* Gross, Charles.	Carpenter.	Duxbury, Mass.	
* Grout, Austin.	Farmer.	Aeworth, N. H.	
*† Haley, Daniel.	Farmer.	Brimfield, Mass.	
†Harrington, Andrew.		Salem, N. Y.	Died in Hampden in 1856.
Harrington, Mrs. Andrew.		Salem, N. Y.	Died in Hampden in 1862.
Harrington, Lydia.		Salem, N. Y.	Married T. D. Proctor of the Hampden County Colony.
Harrington, Susan.		Salem, N. Y.	Married Levi P. Heddens.
†‡Harrington, Ebenezer H.		Salem, N. Y.	Later moved to Leavenworth; died before 1868.
†‡Harrington, Stephen R.		Salem, N. Y.	Became major in Fifth Kansas cavalry; later moved to Washington, D. C.
Harrington, Rowena.		Salem, N. Y.	Married William Vandever in April, 1867.
Harrington, Rosetta.		Salem, N. Y.	
*† Hart, David D.	Woolen worker.	Willimansett, Mass.	
*†‡Hart, John B.	Woolen worker.	Willimansett, Mass.	
*†‡Hart, John G.	Woolen worker.	Willimansett, Mass.	
†‡Hills, Alberto.		Wayne, Pa.	
†‡Hills, E. F.		Wayne, Pa.	
*†‡Holland, W. J.		Belchertown, Mass.	
* Hopper, [John?].			
*†‡Knight, Richard.	Minister.	Holyoke, Mass.	Missionary; removed to Lawrence in October, 1855; returned East in 1856. Mrs. Knight and son died on February 12, 1856, in Lawrence.
* Knight, Mrs. Marianne.		Holyoke, Mass.	
* Knight, Robert Charles.		Holyoke, Mass.	

25. The Ela family joined this party in St. Louis. They had left Massachusetts one week in advance.

THE FOURTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855—Continued

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
*† Knowlton, Orealus.....	Mason.....	Springfield, Mass.....	
*††Knowlton, Phineas.....	Farmer.....	Springfield, Mass.....	
* Ladd, Carlton.....		Lowell, Mass.....	
* Ladd, Samuel G.....	Operative.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
††Law, George.....		Milford, Mass.....	
Law, Mrs. George.....		Milford, Mass.....	Died at Waukegan, Ill., on February 13, 1857.
* Linnell, Edmund.....	Sailor.....	Orleans, Mass.....	
* Lock, Luther.....	Farmer.....	Bethel, Maine.....	
*††Lombard, Roswell.....	Druggist.....	Springfield, Mass.....	Treasurer of the Hampden County Colony; returned to Massachusetts in 1855 or 1856.
* Lyon, Dennis.....	Watchman.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	
* Matheson, Duncan.....	Farmer.....	Natick, Mass.....	
* Matheson, Mrs. Margerite.....		Natick, Mass.....	
*††Mellen, John R.....		Lowell, Mass.....	
††Merrick, George F.....		Palmer, Mass.....	
* Merriss, John.....		Providence, R. I.....	
* Merriss, Mrs. John.....		Providence, R. I.....	
* Merriss, ——		Providence, R. I.....	
* Merriss, ——		Providence, R. I.....	
* Moore, Joseph M.....	Farmer.....	Canterbury, N. H.....	
††Morse, Charles.....		Auburn, Mass.....	Remained in Coffey county, moving to Burlington after nine years on a farm.
*††Morse, Chauncey.....	Handle maker.....	Warren, Mass.....	Mr. Morse died in Hampden in 1856 and his family returned to Massachusetts.
[and family?]			
*††Morse, Lincoln.....	Butcher.....	Southbridge, Mass.....	
*††Morse, Lucius.....	Handle maker.....	Warren, Mass.....	
* Palmer, George W.....	Farmer.....	Sutton, N. H.....	
* Palmer, James M.....	Farmer.....	Sanbornton, N. H.....	
††Pease, B. F[ranklin].....		Chicopee, Mass.....	
*††Peasley, John.....	Stonecutter.....	E. Longmeadow, Mass.....	
††Pepper, Stephen P.....		Brimfield, Mass.....	
Pepper, Mrs. Stephen P.....		Brimfield, Mass.....	Died in Hampden Aug. 14, 1855.
Pepper, Sarah F.....		Brimfield, Mass.....	Died in Burlington in 1860.
Pepper, Stephen G.....		Brimfield, Mass.....	
* Pettengil, Charles R.....	Farmer.....	Springfield, Mass.....	
* Pettengil, Mrs. Janc.....		Springfield, Mass.....	
* Pettengil, ——		Springfield, Mass.....	
* Pettengil, ——		Springfield, Mass.....	
*††Pierce, John R.....		Barre, Mass.....	
* Pierce, Mrs. John R.....		Barre, Mass.....	
* Pierce, ——		Barre, Mass.....	Daughter.
*††Porter, Elijah.....	Editor.....	Westfield, Mass.....	Returned East in 1855.
††Pratt, H. O.....		Wales, Mass.....	
††Proctor, Levi A.....		Union, Pa.....	

THE FOURTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
††Proctor, Thomas Y.		Union, Pa.	
††Reynolds, Henry.		W. Springfield, Mass.	
*††Rice, Luther, Jr.	Mechanic.	Greenfield, Mass.	
††Richards, Loomis.		Springfield, Mass.	
††Richards, William.		Massachusetts	Returned East in winter of 1855-1856.
* Richardson, B. S.			
* Richardson, Mrs. B. S.			
* Richardson, —			
* Robertson, Joseph L.	Farmer.	Northfield, N. H.	
*††Sampson, Amasa B.	Farmer.	Springfield, Mass.	
* Saunders, Charles R. P.	Carpenter.	Salem, Mass.	
* Saunders, Mrs. Harriet C.		Salem, Mass.	
* Saunders, Mrs. Martha E.		Salem, Mass.	
*††Seiders, David W.	Lawyer.	Waldoborough, Maine.	
* Smith, Burdit F.	Trader.	Westfield, Mass.	
*††Smith, Luther C.	Farmer.	Willimansett, Mass.	Died in Hampden in 1855.
††Smith, Silas.		Springfield, Mass.	Died in Hampden in 1855.
† Stevens, A. G.		Chicopee, Mass.	
* Tacher, J.		E. Brookfield, Mass.	
* Vickeray, Nath.	Wheelwright.	Boston, Mass.	
*† Warner, Lemuel F.		Chicopee, Mass.	
††Wetherbee, Joseph B.		Warren, Mass.	"Wetherby?" Remained in
Wetherbee, Mrs. Mary.		Warren, Mass.	Kansas; settled on farm south
Wetherbee, George.		Warren, Mass.	of present Burlington.
Wetherbee, Albert.		Warren, Mass.	
* Whitcomb, Isaac C.	Trader.	Boston, Mass.	
††Whittacre, Benjamin E.		Pontiac, Mich.	
* [Wilder?], B. M.	Clerk.		

Chief sources used in compiling this list: (1) a roster labeled "4th party Ap 3." in a record book among the Emigrant Aid Company papers, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society; (2) Elijah Porter's list of the names of members of the Hampden colony on the Neosho, Kansas territory, who were present and drew lots on the first of May, 1855, in "Coffey County Clippings," v. I, pp. 1, 2, Library, Kansas State Historical Society; a similar list in a "History of Coffey County," in *The Kansas Patriot*, Burlington, issue of May 30, 1868. The manuscript list is incomplete (containing only about 95 names). To it have been added names of members of the Hampden County Colony known to have arrived with the first group. Of the Fourth Spring Party of 1855, some seventy or eighty were Hampden County Colony members.

* Name appears on MS. roster.

† Name appears on Porter's list (see above note).

‡ Name appears on list in "History of Coffey County" (see above note).

The following advertisement appeared in the late March and early April, 1855, issues of the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*:

Kanzas.—The Hampden County Colony for Kanzas will leave the Springfield Depot Tuesday, April 3d, at 6 o'clock p.m., on the arrival of a party from Boston. Rev. Richard Knight of Holyoke will accompany the train as the Agent of the N. E. Aid Company.

It will be necessary for the members of the company to pay into the treasury before Monday night the amount of their fare, which will be \$37 to Kanzas City, provided the water in the Missouri river should not remain as low as at present. If it should the fare will be a trifle more. The members of the Colony are requested to spread the above information.

HARVEY BLISS, JR., Sec. and Treas'r.²⁶

On the afternoon of April 3 the Fourth Emigrant Aid Company Party started from Boston. At that time there were in the group 92 men, 12 women and 11 children—a total of 115 individuals.²⁷ On reaching Springfield a few hours later they were joined by some fifty members of the Hampden County Colony and by the Rev. Richard Knight who was to act as guide for the whole group.

Although there were many in the Fourth Party who did not belong to the Hampden colony there is little known concerning them. The account which follows is devoted exclusively to the founders of Hampden settlement in present Coffey county.

The emigrants reached St. Louis on April 7. The letter of Joseph C. Chapin, dated "Camp Knight, near Westport, Mo., April 16, 1855," describes the journey to Kansas City and the arrangements decided upon there:

. . . After parting with our friends at Springfield, we found but little to interest until our safe arrival at St. Louis. There we found the elegant steamer *Cataract*, Capt Welton, waiting our arrival. We immediately embarked, and were soon on our winding way up the Missouri. Although the water was exceedingly low, and we often encountered snags and sand bars, we made the passage in four days to Kanzas City. On our arrival there we were at once introduced to the society's agent, Mr Pomeroy. In him we found the gentleman and scholar. A meeting was immediately called and Mr P. addressed a few words of encouragement, and directed us to proceed immediately to the

26. Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, p. 76. The Hampden County Colony was organized at Springfield, Mass., on March 6, 1855. W. A. Ela is credited as being the originator of the plan. The officers selected were: W. A. Ela, Monson, president; N. F. Crocker, Westfield, vice-president; Harvey Bliss, Jr., Springfield, secretary; Roswell Lombard, Springfield, treasurer. A second meeting was held March 16 to complete arrangements and adopt regulations. They laid plans for a city two miles square with "lots" of 160 acres—the location to be determined after the colony reached Kansas territory. It was specified that the drawing of lots should take place in the territory on May 1. They also organized a Congregational church and petitioned the American Home Missionary Society to send the Rev. Richard Knight with the colony. (Knight gave up his pastorate of the Congregational church in Holyoke and came with the Hampden group to Kansas.) The most complete account of the Hampden colony is to be found in *The Kansas Patriot*, Burlington, issues of May 23-June 27, 1868.

27. "Trustees' Records," v. I, p. 100.—Meeting of April 7, 1855. Some were members of the Hampden colony.

Neosho river about 100 miles south-east of Kanzas City, as being the *most* eligible, and promising portion of this fair country. On this river there is abundant wood, and the water is good; and what is of more importance, and what will prove of unbounded wealth to this association, is the fact, that at this point there is a superior and a continual *water power*,—sufficient for the purposes of this part of the country for many years to come. This section of land was owned by a gentleman in Westport, Mo., who now *presents* it to this colony. This we consider a great prize, a valuable gift,—for which we feel under the greatest obligations.

We have many of us left our families—others have friends in Hampden county, who only wait our success, before joining us on the Neosho. To our friends we say, “let nothing daunt you.” . . . We passed the Sabbath in view of the Kanzas territory. This afternoon we pass into it. We are now well prepared. We have purchased nine yokes of oxen, two spans of horses, five wagons, plows, provisions, seed, cows, &c. . . .²⁸

The company had arrived at Kansas City on Wednesday, April 11. They spent the next few days in camp at Westport, purchasing teams and supplies, and set out on Monday, the sixteenth, for the Neosho river. After traveling as far as the Sac & Fox Indian agency, the Hampden colony members sent a committee on ahead to select the exact location for their settlement. The site was chosen on April 25, and the succeeding day the colony arrived at its new home.²⁹

The pioneers were at first very favorably impressed with the Neosho river country. Wrote George H. Church on April 29:

It is the pleasantest place I was ever in; the land is hilly enough to suit any one; the grass is up about six inches; wild geese, ducks, turkeys, cranes and deer are plenty, and we have great fun fishing. . . .

We have . . . commenced laying out our city about a mile and a half from the river, on a hill sixty feet above the flat. . . .³⁰

And another member of the Hampden colony, Elijah Porter, wrote:

We have chosen a location about 100 miles from the border of civilization, in one of the fairest situations in the world, and are proceeding to lay out a township six miles square, with a city one mile square in the center. In the center of this territory of six miles, is a high hill, beautifully rounded off, on which we design to erect our city hall, schools and churches, *in the good time coming.*³¹

On May 1 the drawing of lots took place as scheduled. According to Elijah Porter there were 61 men of the colony present and taking

28. Published in the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, April 28, 1855.—Clipping in “Webb Scrapbooks,” v. III, p. 192.

29. Hampden was located in sec. 24 of T. 21 S., R. 15 E., across the river and about a mile east of present Burlington.

30. Clipping from unidentified newspaper in “Kansas Territorial Clippings,” v. I, p. 284, Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 285.

part in the proceedings. In addition Samuel C. Pomeroy and his brother-in-law Willis E. Gaylord drew lots by proxy. An error was found in the first drawing, and on the following day the procedure was begun all over again. This caused some dissatisfaction as a number who had secured good land on the first day were not so lucky in the second drawing. "As soon as the lots had been staked out . . . , " wrote Porter,

we commenced the *art of plowing*, which did not seem to work remarkably well. The first day both plows were broken, and thrown aside for the present, as useless. After sundry means had been resorted to to mend the broken plows and hunt up the oxen, they began the "work" again, and finally became so expert in the business, that three men, five yoke of oxen, one pair of wagon wheels, and one mammoth plow, could turn over, "all told," one acre of the turf in a day. The roots of the grass made a complete net work as hard as adamant, and the corn must be planted in holes made by "sharp sticks." Whether the corn will ever grow in such a hard soil, is to me a question to be decided next fall. . . .³²

It was not long before the early enthusiasm of a number of the Hampden colony settlers had disappeared. Among those who soon became discouraged was Elijah Porter who wrote the following letter from Boonville, Mo., May 15, 1855, on his way back East:

You will see from the date of my letter, that I am on my way home.³³ I left the Hampden Colony on Wednesday last, and am now on board the steamer *Edinburg* bound for St. Louis, Mo., where I shall arrive if prospered on the 19th inst. To tell a long story in a few words, I have seen enough to convince me that Kansas is a *humbug*. . . . Yet to those who are still thinking of emigrating I can say that there is any quantity of prairie land here, which can be had at \$1.25 an acre; but there is no wood on much of the land, and little or no water, and, except in the region of the Neosho, there is very little prospect of the country ever filling up. . . . Were the country supplied with wood and water, it might soon become a State of which all would be proud. The Colony at Hampden has laid out a handsome *paper* city, and also a township six miles square, and that is about all I can say about it. Here is a little timber, a decent stream of water, and a town of some seventy-five persons in all, with little cash among them, and a small quantity of edibles, with a market only one hundred miles off. Should there be a fruitful season, there may be enough raised to last the people next winter, but as it takes some five stout yoke of oxen to plow the sod, there are few who will get in more than from five to six acres of corn this spring, in consequence of the want of teams.

There has been only one rain for a year past, and the water stands in puddles, covered with a filthy green scum, and I passed one place yesterday where twenty persons had died of the cholera in five days, and eight lay in

32. Clipping from unidentified newspaper in "Coffey County Clippings," v. I, pp. 1-3, Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

33. Five other men of the Hampden colony left with Elijah Porter.—*Ibid.*, p. 3.

one church at the same time awaiting burial. This must be a sickly country, and instead of my health improving, it is no better than when I left home. The ground in Kansas is all baked so hard that it is next to impossible to plow it, and there will be very little raised this year. All kinds of provisions are extremely dear; flour will be from 15 to 18 dollars a barrel; cheese is 30 cents a pound; beans 3 1-2 dollars a bushel; butter I have not tasted for days and weeks; and the water is hard and has an unpleasant odor. . . .³⁴

Porter's letter gave an exaggerated picture of conditions in the Hampden colony. Until late in the summer the settlement was fairly prosperous and the pioneers busily engaged in establishing homes and raising crops. The Rev. Richard Knight wrote to a friend on June 12:

Rev. Asa Bullard,—*Dear Brother*,—You may probably have heard of my flight to Kanzas. I gave up my charge at Holyoke to accompany the Hampden County Colony, as their Pastor. My family are with me, and so far we have not regretted the step, although we have had to endure considerable privation and inconvenience, believing that we are in the path of duty. We have dwelt in a cotton tent for six weeks, exposed to all weather, and sometimes entirely drenched with rain; but the Lord has been gracious to us. We have none of us taken any cold. Mrs. K., especially, has not enjoyed such good health for many years.

Our Colony has located in a most beautiful country, on the banks of the Neosho (clear water) the second river in Kanzas. We are about 80 miles south of Lawrence; and from the beauty of our situation, and its probable commercial advantages, we anticipate a rapid growth. Already we have quite a population,—about 150. And when the *families* of many now here, come out in the fall, we shall have quite a community. Our congregations are good. We meet in a beautiful grove. I have a pulpit of wood between two very large oak trees. . . . There too, assembles a Sabbath school; and from 40 to 60 children and adults weekly study the sacred oracles. . . .³⁵

On July 16 the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* published the following article on the Hampden colony in Kansas:

L. G. Currier of Chicopee, who has returned temporarily from Hampden in Kanzas, brings us letters to July 2d, and gives an encouraging account of our colony. The Hampden company have established a "union store," and run a team weekly to Kanzas city, Mo., for supplies and for conveyance of passengers, and have considerable trade with the settlers located around them. They have over a hundred acres under cultivation, and the corn was looking finely. They have 31 cows and 17 yokes of oxen. There is coal within the city limits that burns freely, plenty of excellent building stone and no lack of timber, but very great need of a saw-mill, which we trust they will not be allowed to need much longer.

For the future they contemplate establishing a trading depot on the Santa Fe road, where they can dispose of their produce, unless they succeed, as they

34. Clipping from *The National Aegis*, Worcester, Mass., June 6, 1855, in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. IV, pp. 141, 142.

35. Clipping from *The Puritan Recorder*, Boston, July 19, 1855, in *ibid.*, p. 249.

hope, in changing the route of a portion of the road, so as to bring it through Hampden. They also propose, as soon as the saw-mill arrives, to manufacture Santa Fe waggons, 2000 of which are annually brought from St Louis and sold at Kanzas city. They have all the materials except iron at Hampden, and can undersell the St Louis manufacturers, if necessary, and still make a handsome business out of the manufacture.

Our correspondents express some indignation at the accounts given of their condition in the letters of Mr. Porter of Westfield. They wish it understood that his gloomy representations have not been, and are not likely to be, in any respect true. . . .³⁶

From May through July the Hampden colony thrived. In late August almost every person in the community was stricken with ague. The effect of this malarial fever was demoralizing. All the settlers were ill at the same time and helpless to care for themselves or their neighbors. Five or six members of the colony died. Many who had withstood all the other pioneer hardships with fortitude were now frightened into returning East. The Hampden colony was soon much reduced in numbers.

But the settlement continued in spite of this serious setback. On November 14, 1855, a steam sawmill purchased by the New England Emigrant Aid Company was delivered at Hampden. It was never set up, chiefly because of the border troubles of 1856. There was little development of the settlement in 1856. On December 18, 1856, W. A. Ela, of the original Hampden colony wrote: "Out of the one hundred men, women and children who came here one year ago last April, thirty only remain."³⁷

Other settlers came into the community gradually and the affairs of the Hampden colonists became merged with those of their neighbors. With the establishment early in 1857 of the town of Burlington across the river Hampden suffered a further decline and lost its identity as a settlement. Harrison Kelley writing an historical address on Coffey county in 1876 had this to say about the Hampden colony: "There remains of this colony now in the county living, Stephen Pepper, Charles Morse and family, Henry W. Ela, J. B. Wetherbee and two or three female members of the family of Stephen Harrington."³⁸

36. Clipping from the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, July 16, 1855, in *ibid.*, p. 226.

37. Letter in *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 10, 1857.

38. Kelley, Harrison, *A Centennial Oration; Historical Address on Coffey County, Kansas!* . . . (Burlington *Weekly Patriot* Book and Job Office, 1876).

THE FIFTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on April 10; Ferdinand Fuller, of Lawrence, K. T., conductor.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Atkins, Albert S.....		Southampton, Mass.....	
Bacon, Calvin H.....	Chairmaker.....	S. Gardner, Mass.....	
Bailey, Paul E.....	Carpenter.....	E. Boston, Mass.....	
Bassett, William.....		Amherst, Mass.....	
Brown, Charles.....			
Corbin, S. B.....		Worcester, Mass.....	
Cowee, George L.....	Painter.....	S. Gardner, Mass.....	
Daggett, Charles.....	Carpenter.....	S. Weymouth, Mass.....	
Damon, Zacharia.....		Phillipston, Mass.....	
Dennett, Alfred H.....	Carpenter.....	Amesworth, Mass.....	
Dexter, Stephen.....	Carpenter.....	E. Corinth, Maine.....	Left company at Lexington, Mo., and returned to Maine.
Dockum, Charles.....	Farmer.....	Poland, Maine.....	
Drummer, John A.....		Keene, N. H.....	
Fiske, Verry.....		Southbridge, Mass.....	
Foster, Charles A.....	Attorney.....	Springfield, Mass.....	Settled in Osawatomie.
Foster, Mrs. Elizabeth.....		Springfield, Mass.....	
Foster, Mrs. Lucretia.....		Springfield, Mass.....	Mother of Charles A. Foster.
Fuller, James.....		Lebanon, Conn.....	
Gaskill, Thomas.....	Engineer.....	Roxbury, Mass.....	
Gray, William.....	Carpenter.....	Manchester, Mass.....	
Grimes, David.....	Farmer.....	Springfield, Vt.....	
Grimes, N. E.....	Bridge builder..	Springfield, Vt.....	
Hale, James O.....	Teacher.....	Temple, N. H.....	
Hastings, Henry.....		Worcester, Mass.....	
Hayward, Stevens.....	Shoemaker.....	Marlborough, Mass.....	
Hersey, Henry F.....	Carpenter.....	Hingham, Mass.....	
Higgins, Leonard.....		W. Boylston, Mass.....	
Josselyn, Ozen.....	Farmer.....	Quincy, Mass.....	Joined the Hampden colony.
Josselyn, Maria.....		Quincy, Mass.....	20 years old.
Josselyn, Melissa.....		Quincy, Mass.....	15 years old.
Josselyn, Robert.....		Quincy, Mass.....	12 years old.
Kent, Proctor.....			
Killam, Francis.....	Carpenter.....	Pembroke, N. H.....	Settled in, or near Lawrence.
Killam, Mrs. Francis.....		Pembroke, N. H.....	
Killam, George F. A.....	Carpenter.....	Pembroke, N. H.....	Settled in, or near Lawrence.
Killam, Mrs. George F. A.....		Pembroke, N. H.....	
Knight, Samuel J.....		Williamsburg, Mass.....	
Liniker, Mrs. Harriet.....		Groveland, Mass.....	
Loring, Isaiah W.....	Tin worker.....	Hingham, Mass.....	
Matok, H.....			

THE FIFTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Millett, John			
Millett, Nath.			
Mirick, Moses H.		Princeton, Mass.	
Newhell, Daniel F.		Southbridge, Mass.	
Newton, Charles W.			
Nights, B.			"Knight?"
O'Brien, John	Cordwainer.	N. Reading, Mass.	
Paddock, C. F.		Holden, Mass.	
Parker, E. W.		Worcester, Mass.	
Parker, George W.	Painter.	Boston, Mass.	
Peckham, William H.	Jeweler.	Providence, R. I.	
Perrin, P. R.		Montpelier, Vt.	
Phillips, James D.		Boston, Mass.	
Phillips, John	Trader.	Boston, Mass.	
Phillips, Mrs. John		Boston, Mass.	
Preble, A. H.			
Reed, Josiah M.	Paper business.	Boston, Mass.	
Ricker, Noah	Joiner.	Casco, Maine.	
Ricker, William.			12 years old.
Rising, George.	Farmer.	Keene, N. H.	Settled near Osawatomie.
Robinson, H. J.			
Rogers, George W.			
Shaw, H. C.		Boylston, Mass.	
Simpson, Joseph.	Farmer.	E. Corinth, Maine.	
Sims, Aaron	Cordwainer.	N. Reading, Mass.	
Sims, Mrs. Aaron.		N. Reading, Mass.	
Sims, Mrs. Abigail.		N. Reading, Mass.	Mother of Aaron Sims.
Stone, Henry, Jr.	Carpenter.	Manchester, Mass.	
Tay, P. B.	Farmer.	E. Corinth, Maine.	
Taylor, George.			
Tripp, Warren.	Mason.	N. Bedford, Mass.	
Turner, Hartwell F.	Teamster.	Boston, Mass.	Joined Hampden colony.
White, Asa S.	Carpenter.	Keene, N. H.	Settled near Osawatomie.
White, Mrs. Asa S.		Keene, N. H.	
White, — — — — —		Keene, N. H.	9 years old.
White, — — — — —		Keene, N. H.	6 years old.
White, — — — — —		Keene, N. H.	Under 4 years.
White, — — — — —		Keene, N. H.	Under 4 years.
Whitney, Augustus.			
Whitney, Sophia S.		Worcester, Mass.	
Wilcox, William.		Worcester, Mass.	

Chief sources used in compiling this list: "5th Party" in a record book, and MS. headed "List of persons composing the 5th party for Kanzas," in Emigrant Aid Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

The Fifth Spring Party of 1855 left for Kansas on April 10 under the charge of Ferdinand Fuller,³⁹ member of the pioneer party of 1854 and one of the founders of Lawrence. At the Fitchburg depot in Boston, before departing, the emigrants and their friends sang Lucy Larcom's prize Kansas song and an original song "Stand By the Right," written by J. R. Orton. There were in the company at that time 62 men, 12 women and six children—a total of 80 individuals.⁴⁰

The *Daily Spy*, Worcester, Mass., on April 11, published this item:

The following named persons left this city yesterday for Kanzas by the Fitchburg train; at which place they were to join the main party from Boston, viz: E. W. Parker, Sophia S. Whitney, William Wilcox and S. B. Corbin, Henry Hastings of Worcester, Leonard Higgins, West Boylston, Zacharia Damon, Phillipston, Samuel J. Knight, Williamsburg, Moses H. Mirick, Princeton, James Fuller, Lebanon, Ct., C. F. Paddock, Holden, H. C. Shaw, Boylston, Verry Fiske and Daniel F. Newhell, Southbridge."⁴¹

At Buffalo, N. Y., the company took the South Lake Shore railroad. Their journey as far as St. Louis seems to have been uneventful. The exact date of their arrival in that city is unknown. They left for Kansas City on the steamboat *Australia* on April 18. Some distance up the river, near Lexington, Mo., she went aground and remained so for two or three days. The *Australia* carried a heavy load of passengers including some 250 U. S. troops who were crowded below deck in unhealthful quarters. The weather was unseasonably warm and conditions on the boat were not improved by the heat. Cholera broke out on board and there were a number of deaths. Sixteen of the emigrants in the Fifth Party were said to have died of cholera on the *Australia*.⁴² Discouraged, or frightened, many of the passengers left the boat while it was aground. According to one of the Emigrant Aid Party some of the company, giving up the idea of going on to Kansas, had decided to settle in Iowa or Wisconsin.

There is little additional information to be found concerning the Fifth Party. Samuel C. Pomeroy, writing on May 4 to the New

39. Fuller's family may have been in this party, also. The *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 5, 1855, in an item concerning the Fifth Party stated: "Mr. Fuller . . . lost a child while on his passage up the [Missouri] river."

40. "Trustees' Records," v. I, pp. 107, 108.—Meeting of April 14, 1855.

41. Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, p. 104.

42. "KANZAS EMIGRANT RETURNED. Deacon Stephen Dexter, of East Corinth, who, with Joseph Simpson and Mr. P. B. Tay of the same town, recently left home for Kanzas returned to this city yesterday on his way home. The boat in which he was, grounded near Lexington on the Missouri river, and sixteen of the company of Kanzas emigrants on board, dying of cholera, he became discouraged. Joseph Simpson was robbed of all his money at St. Louis, but with Mr. Tay, kept on their way to the promised land."—Clipping in *ibid.*, p. 239; see, also, *ibid.*, v. IV, p. 22.

England Emigrant Aid Company, stated that the Fifth Party had located sixty miles southwest on Pottawatomie creek, twenty miles above Osawatomie.⁴³

On July 15 Asa S. White of this company wrote the following letter from Osawatomie:

. . . You will expect me to write something about the country, but I will not attempt, as others more able have described its beauty, its rich soil and lovely climate, which so far as I have seen and experienced I can fully endorse. But those who come here must come expecting to find a new country, one entirely destitute of most of the conveniences of old settlements. . . . We think false inducements have been held out to mechanics and to those who come here merely to get employment. Wages are lower here than at the east, and mechanical business will not be very brisk till there is more material to work with. We have no saw mill in this section of the territory yet, but expect one will be put in operation in the fall. . . . The city of Ossawattamie is not a very large or fast-growing place, though perhaps it has grown as fast as could have been expected under the circumstances; but little was done toward building till the past spring. The dwellings are mostly built of logs. There is one large framed building which is occupied for a store. Two other stores are soon to be opened. A hotel and several more dwelling houses are soon to be built. The city is laid out within the forks of the Osage, between the branches of the Meridezene [Marais des Cygnes] and the Pottawattamie, and is fifty miles southwest from Kansas [City], Mo., and about the same distance from Lawrence, K. T. The claims are nearly all taken up in the vicinity of the city. We have meetings here every Sabbath and a good supply of preachers, but have no meeting house. . . . Most of the settlers here are from the free States, yet many of them do not attend public worship on the Sabbath, they seek only the treasures of earth. When I came here I found the timber claims nearly all taken up and not wishing to go farther I bought one within one mile of what we term the city. I am much pleased with my claim—there were some improvements on it which I have found very convenient.

Our journey out here was long and tedious, and my family were worn out with fatigue.—Since we came here two of our children have gone to that country from whence none return. This has been a great bereavement to us, and we sometimes fear that our long and wearisome journey hurried them away. . . . You may desire to know my opinion in relation to the political future of the territory. If the people could be left to themselves and have the privilege of doing their own voting, it certainly would be a free State. We met with many threats while passing thro' Missouri, and our lives may have been in danger, but I trust the threats of the Missourians will never be executed. Many, however, were frightened back after getting as far as Kansas.⁴⁴

43. "Trustees' Records," v. I, p. 128.—Meeting of May 12, 1855.

44. Published in the *New Hampshire Sentinel*, Keene, August 10, 1855.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. V, p. 37.

THE SIXTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on April 17; George W. Hunt, of Lowell, Mass., conductor.)

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Adams, Newell.....	Trader.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Atkins, Abraham.....	Sailor.....	New Bedford, Mass.....	
Bain, Nathaniel M.....	Farmer.....	Cornville, Maine.....	
Beardsley, J. S.....	Editor.....	Cleveland, Ohio.....	Editor of the <i>Plaindealer</i> .
Bishop, James L.....		Syracuse, N. Y.....	Left at Lexington, Mo.
Blaisdell, William.....	Machinist.....	Chicopee, Mass.....	Joined Hampden colony.
Brown, P. G.....	Farmer.....	Poland, Maine.....	
Buckman, Samuel G.....	Mariner.....	Bath, Maine.....	
Burdett, Abiden K.....	Comb maker.....	Leominster, Mass.....	Settled in Lawrence.
Burdett, Mrs. Jane G.....		Leominster, Mass.....	
Burdett, Willis C.....		Leominster, Mass.....	Died July 5, 1855, in Lawrence.
Burdett, Frank E.....		Leominster, Mass.....	Infant.
Butts, James D.....	Carpenter.....	Chicopee, Mass.....	Took a claim on the Neosho river, near Hampden.
Coffin, Samuel.....	Mariner.....	Newburyport, Mass.....	
Coffin, Mrs. Samuel.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Coffin, Abby Ann.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Coffin, Francis L.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Coffin, Jennett.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Comer, Mrs. Emily.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Comer, Bainbridge.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Comer, Melvin.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	
Comer, Samuel.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	Under 5 years.
Comer, Mary E.....		Newburyport, Mass.....	Infant.
Cooper, William R.....	Cabinetmaker.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Damon, Jonas M.....	Farmer.....	Lancaster, Mass.....	
Davis, Charles A.....	Machinist.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
Dewey, H.....		Granby, Conn.....	
Duty, Mathew.....	Mason.....	Hartford, Conn.....	
Dyer, Robert P.....	Merchant.....	Boston, Mass.....	
Flanders, Albert.....	Farmer.....	Cornville, Maine.....	Joined Hampden colony.
Foss, Moses B.....	Machinist.....	Lowell, Mass.....	
Foss, Mrs. Caroline.....		Lowell, Mass.....	
Foss, Duna.....		Lowell, Mass.....	
Goddard, Eber.....	Miller.....	Leominster, Mass.....	
Goddard, Mrs. Eber.....		Leominster, Mass.....	
Goddard, Artemus.....		Leominster, Mass.....	
Goddard, Lucy A.....		Leominster, Mass.....	
Goddard, Charles A.....		Leominster, Mass.....	Infant.
Godfred, Joshua S.....	Farmer.....	E. Greenwich, R. I.....	
Gorton, Nathaniel.....		Salem, Mass.....	
Graham, M. W.....		Granby, Conn.....	
Gray, John.....	Dyer; laborer.....	Concord, N. H.....	
Gray, Mrs. Elizabeth.....		Concord, N. H.....	
Gray, James.....		Concord, N. H.....	Under 4 years.

THE SIXTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855—*Concluded*

NAME.	Occupation.	Residence.	Remarks.
Hall, Lydia S.	Teacher.....	Lowell, Mass.	Missionary to the Choctaw Indians before coming to Kansas; kept boardinghouse in Lawrence in 1855, with Mrs. Hurd.
Higby, A. ....	.....	Granby, Conn. ....	.....
Higgins, Wm. W.	Machinist.....	South Hadley, Mass. ....	.....
Hopkins, Charles, Jr.	Manufacturer.....	Lowell, Mass.	Joined Hampden colony.
Hopkins, Mrs. Charles, Jr. ....	.....	Lowell, Mass. ....	.....
Hopkins, O. ....	.....	Lowell, Mass.	Under 5 years.
Hopkins, Arletta. ....	.....	Lowell, Mass.	Under 5 years.
Hoppin, William W.	Machinist.....	S. Hadley, Mass.	Joined Hampden colony.
Howland, Noah D.	Blacksmith.....	Westport, Mass. ....	.....
Hunt, George W. ....	.....	Fitchburg, Mass. ....	.....
Hurd, Mrs. Clarissa.	Boardinghouse-keeper.....	Lowell, Mass.	Established boardinghouse in Lawrence, with Lydia S. Hall.
Hurd, George R.	Machst.; farmer.....	Lowell, Mass. ....	.....
Hurd, Henry.	Machst.; farmer.....	Lowell, Mass. ....	.....
James, H. T.	Painter.....	New Bedford, Mass. ....	.....
James, — — —	.....	New Bedford, Mass.	Son of H. T. James.
King, Cyrus A.	Miller.....	Oxford, Maine. ....	.....
Merchant, Joseph. ....	.....	South Adams, Mass.	Settled in Lecompton township, Douglas county.
Merchant, Mrs. Prudence. ....	.....	South Adams, Mass.	Died August 29, 1859.
Merchant, Leonard P. E. ....	.....	South Adams, Mass.	Son of Joseph Merchant; settled in Lawrence; later lived on a farm(?)
Merchant, Mrs. Leonard P. E. ....	.....	South Adams, Mass. ....	.....
Newcomb, Charles R.	Teacher.....	E. Hampton, Mass.	Joined Hampden colony.
Newton, William A.	Printer.....	Boston, Mass. ....	.....
Newton, Mrs. William A. ....	.....	Boston, Mass. ....	.....
Philips, George M.	Machinist.....	Chicopee, Mass. ....	.....
Putnam, Simeon.	Methodist clergyman.....	Sutton, Mass. ....	.....
Russell, Philemon R.	Butcher.....	Bath, Maine. ....	.....
Russell, Mrs. Philemon R. ....	.....	Bath, Maine. ....	.....
Russell, Charles. ....	.....	Bath, Maine.	Under 5 years.
Russell, E. ....	.....	Bath, Maine.	Under 5 years.
Sawyer, Henry.	Mason.....	Hartford, Conn. ....	.....
Soule, Zoith H. ....	.....	Westport, Mass. ....	.....
Tilton, Josiah.	Farmer.....	Cornville, Maine. ....	.....
Tremain, C. T.	Clerk; trader.....	Boston, Mass.	This name may have been "Tremain."
Vaill, William K.	Teacher.....	Salem, Mass. ....	.....
Walker, John E.	Cabinetmaker.....	Reading, Mass. ....	.....
Wilbur, Hollis. ....	.....	.....	Settled in Lawrence.
Wilbur, Mrs. Hollis. ....	.....	.....	.....
Wilbur, — — —	.....	.....	.....
Wilbur, — — —	.....	.....	.....

Chief sources used in compiling this list: Record book and MS. in Emigrant Aid Collection, and MS. labeled ". . . a true copy of the names &c of those constituting the company which came to Kansas in the year A. D. 1855 under the immediate supervision of Geo. W. Hunt as conductor," all in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

The Sixth Party left Boston on April 17. The journey to Kansas territory was made via the Canadian route. There were in the company at the time of departure 37 men, 13 women and 14 children—a total of 64 individuals. George W. Hunt of Lowell, Mass., was the conductor.⁴⁵

The trains were crowded and the company suffered numerous inconveniences and delays. In Chicago, where a riot was in progress, some of the party were given a military escort from their hotel to the depot. They all reached St. Louis safely and on April 24 took passage on the *Kate Swinney*. The Missouri river was still very low.⁴⁶ The steamboat journey to Kansas City took nine days.

At a meeting of the emigrants while on board the *Kate Swinney* resolutions of thanks were voted the captain and other officers of the boat. George W. Hunt was chairman of the meeting; Charles R. Newcomb acted as secretary. The committee on resolutions were W. K. Vaill, Simeon Putnam and Jonas M. Damon.⁴⁷

S. C. Pomeroy, Aid Company agent in Kansas City, wrote on May 4 of the arrival of the Sixth Party stating: "They are a good set of men—also some noble women." "All," he wrote, "are in fine spirits—most of them will stick." In a letter written on the next day he indicated that some of the company had decided to settle on Pottawatomie creek, along with the Fifth Party.⁴⁸

G. W. Hunt, writing later in the month, stated that most of the Sixth Party had gone to the Hampden colony on the Neosho river.⁴⁹ From the roster of this company it will be noted that several of the party settled in Lawrence. There is almost no information available concerning individual members of the Sixth Party.

THE SEVENTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on April 24; arrived at Kansas City, May 3; W. P. Dutton, of E. Boston, conductor.)

This party was described in the trustees' records of the New England Emigrant Aid Company as consisting of seven men and one married woman.⁵⁰ Below is a copy of the original manuscript list of the Seventh Party:

45. "Trustees' Records," v. I, pp. 115, 116.—Meeting of April 21, 1855.

46. Letter of L[ydia] S. H[all] published in the Boston *Evening Telegraph* of April, 1855.—Clipping in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. III, pp. 142, 143.

47. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 12, 1855.

48. "Trustees' Records," v. I, pp. 128, 133.—Meetings of May 12 and 19, 1855.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 135.—Meeting of May 26, 1855.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 121.—Meeting of April 28, 1855.

List of persons composing the 7th party to Kanzas April 24th, 1855.

Wm P. Dutton, conductor.

No. 1	Weston Humphry Waterbury Vermont	Will join at Bellows Falls Send names & occupations to Dr. Webb
2	A. Durkee Brookfield Vermont	
3		
4	W. H. Blakely Boston Trader	
5	Simon O. Hareis Billerica, Ms.	
6	<u>Mrs Hancock wife of Mr Hancock, now in Lawrence</u>	
7	Charles J. Bushee Warren R. I. Farmer	
8	James P. Bushee " " "	
9	J. Wiley S. Reading Store Keeper ⁵¹	

C. J. Bushee and J. P. Bushee joined the Hampden colony. No information has been found concerning other members of the party.

THE EIGHTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on May 1; William P. Crocker, of Meredith Bridge, N. H., conductor.)

The Eighth Spring Party left Boston on May 1, traveling to Kansas via the Canadian route. The company then consisted of twelve men, two women and three children—17 people in all.⁵² Their conductor was William P. Crocker. They arrived safely in St. Louis and went up the Missouri river on the steamboat *Edinburg* on May 6.

The two available rosters of this party are both in the handwriting of William P. Crocker. One is contained in a letter sent by him to Thomas H. Webb. This letter, printed below, lists 19 individuals.

Kansas City, Missouri, May, 1855

Dr. Thomas H. Webb.

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure of informing you of the safe arrival of the eighth Kanzas party to this place consisting of the following names:

Hiram Hill	Farmer	Williamsburgh, Mass.
Charles Fay ⁵³	"	Fitchburg "
Charles Freeman	Baker	Worcester "
J. W. Russell	Shoemaker	South Brookfield "
Mrs. C. A. Stephens		" " "
Henry Stephens	Aged 7 years	" " "
George Stephens	" 4 years	" " "
Mary E. Stephens	" 1 year	" " "

51. MS. in the Emigrant Aid Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

52. "Trustees' Records," v. I, p. 125.—Meeting of May 5, 1855.

53. Charles Fay settled in Lawrence.—See his letter in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, September 22, 1855.

Charles Rand	Machinist	Lowell, Mass.
E. L. Cottle ⁵⁴	Carpenter	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Jane Cottle		" "
Alouretta Cottle	3½ years old	" "
Granville Cottle	1½ years old	" "
M. Bennett	Brushmaker	Boston, "
Mrs. Charlotte P. Bennett		" "
Ella Frances Bennett	8 months old	" "
William P. Crocker	Civil Engineer	Meredith Bridge, N. H.
E. A. Thomas ⁵⁵	Teacher	N. Prescott, Mass.
Rodney Gage	Minister	" " "

The charges for Extra Baggage from Suspension Bridge to Chicago was at the rate of two cents per pound; from Chicago to St. Louis \$1.37 per cwt. Each full ticket is allowed only 80 lbs free of charge from Chicago to St. Louis when the party consists of less than fifty full tickets.

At Chicago I thought it advisable to telegraph B. Slater for the purpose of having a boat ready as soon as we arrived to prevent unnecessary expense to the different members of the party. This was done and we were not delayed beyond a reasonable time at St. Louis. The expense of that despatch was 70 cents which is the only extra expense that I have incurred in the prosecution of my duties as Conductor of the Party

Yours very truly

William P. Crocker⁵⁶

THE NINTH SPRING PARTY OF 1855

(Departed from Boston on May 8; Luke P. Lincoln, of Newton, Mass., conductor.)

The Ninth Spring Party under the guidance of Luke P. Lincoln, left Boston on May 8, traveling to Kansas territory via the Canadian route. There were in the company seven men, four married women and four children.⁵⁷ They arrived in St. Louis on May 12 and took passage on the *Martha Jewett* for Kansas City.

There is no known list of the members of this party. However, the document reprinted below gives the names of the men in the group:

Steamer *Martha Jewett*,
May 17, 1855.

In view of the upright, gentlemanly, business-like deportment and management of her officers—the well furnished and richly supplied table—the as-

54. Edwin L. Cottle died at the Shawnee Baptist Mission en route to Lawrence.

55. E. A. Thomas returned East in 1855. He wrote several letters condemning the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

56. Letter is in Emigrant Aid correspondence, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

57. "Trustees' Records," v. I, pp. 130, 131.—Meeting of May 12, 1855.

siduous attention of waiters on board the *Martha Jewett*—the following resolutions were adopted by the passengers who left Massachusetts, May 8th, '55.

Resolved, That we heartily recommend this Boat to all our friends, and the public generally, who may have occasion to travel on the Missouri river.

Resolved, That we fully appreciate the defference and respect paid to religion and morality,—together with the rights and privileges of all on Board.

Resolved, That we recommend the management of this boat, from the fact of the practical demonstration we have witnessed on board, that a boat can be most efficiently managed without descending to low vulgarity and profanity on the part of its officers and crew.

Resolved, That it is with pleasure we record, to the credit, not only of the boat and crew, but also to the passengers on board, amounting to eighty in number, that we have witnessed no gambling, no profanity, or other vulgarity, with one or two exceptions, that could annoy the most fastidious persons.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, be presented to the officers of the boat, and forwarded to the following papers for publication:—*Herald of Freedom*, Boston *Evening Telegraph*, Boston *Journal*, and *Evening Traveler*, dailies and weeklies of these papers, and in any other paper that Dr. Webb should deem expedient.

W.M. LEACH, Sec'y.

L. P. LINCOLN, Ch'r.

In addition to the above the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That we appreciate and gratefully acknowledge the kindness and valuable assistance of L. P. Lincoln, the Party's Agent, in his earnest endeavors to promote our comfort, advance our interests, and make agreeable our tiresome journey.

Signed,

CHARLES J. P. FLOYD,

JAMES L. MONROE,

NINIAN FERGUSON,

JOHN L. HARDING,

W.M. LEACH,

HENRY LEARNED,⁵⁸

T. E. CURTISS.⁵⁹

Organized emigration from the New England states in 1855 appears to have been very light after the middle of April. This was particularly true of the summer months. Specific mention of parties sent out by the New England Emigrant Aid Company appear only occasionally after May in the trustees' records.

At the trustees' meeting of June 30 Thomas H. Webb reported that a small party under the charge of Samuel F. Tappan had left for Kansas on June 19. It consisted of two male adults, five female adults (four of them married) and seven children. Tappan's letter

58. Henry Learned's reminiscences, on file in the MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society, contains the statement that he was accompanied by his wife and son. They settled in Douglas county.

59. Published in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, issue of May 28, 1855.

of June 23, read at this same meeting, told of the arrival of the party at St. Louis in good health and spirits. They were to take passage for Kansas City on the steamboat *Amazon*.⁶⁰

Although not mentioned in the trustees' records, a party of twenty left for Kansas on July 24 under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company. Their guide was Edward P. Fitch, whose letter of August 11, 1855, describing the journey is published here.

THE PARTY OF JULY 24, 1855

(Departed from Boston on July 24; Edward P. Fitch, of Hopkinton, Mass., conductor.)

LAWRENCE, Aug. 11, 1855.

Ed. *Herald of Freedom*—Dear Sir: Thinking that perhaps your readers at the East might like to know something of the "wanderings" of those who have taken the line of march to this far off country, I am induced to note some of the incidents connected with the journey to Kansas, of the party which left Boston on the 24th ult.

We left Boston from the B. and Worcester R. R. station at half past one P. M., in a rain storm, which kept with us all through the State of Massachusetts, making it more comfortable traveling than it would have been had it been dry and dusty.

Our party numbered just twenty persons, being the women and children of four families, going to join their husbands and fathers in the land of promise. We arrived safely in Albany about ten o'clock in the evening, and immediately took the cars on the New York Central R. R. for Buffalo.

. . . We arrived in Buffalo about ten o'clock in the morning, and found that we should be obliged to stay there until evening, as the Detroit boat did not leave till nine P. M.

We crossed the Lake in the *Buckeye State*, which is a first class boat. During the night a very violent thunder storm arose, and it came upon us so suddenly that it frightened many of the lady passengers very much, but did no further damage.

At Detroit, where we arrived about four o'clock P. M., we had ocular demonstration that the "Maine law" was not in force in that city. There were two or three fire companies from London, C. W., there, on a visit to their Detroit friends; and I noticed many who looked as tho' they thought that everybody was drunk but themselves. . . .

After a good supper at the Western Hotel, at a moderate charge, we took the cars for Chicago at nine P. M. . . .

We traveled all night on the Michigan Central railroad, in the patent night cars now in use on that road, (and which I don't think much improvement on the old ones.) We arrived in Chicago about eight in the morning. . . . We found we must wait more than twelve hours, until nine o'clock P. M., before the cars left for Alton and St. Louis. This interval we filled up as best suited ourselves, some going to look at the public buildings, and some remaining at the depot through the day.

60. "Trustees' Records," v. I, pp. 152-154.—Meeting of June 30, 1855.

Evening found us seated in the cars, and preparing for a night's rest, but in this we were doomed to be disappointed, for the road was so rough, and the cars jolted so much, that sleep was out of the question. The Chicago, Alton and St. Louis railroad is the worst road over which I ever traveled, and although some of the passengers said that the Illinois Central was worse, I cannot see how it can be possible; for if much worse I think every train would be thrown from the track.

Sun-rise found us at Bloomington, and from there to Alton the road was better, and we got some of the sleep we lost during the night.

At Alton, where we arrived about noon, we took the steamer *Reindeer* for St. Louis, and on arriving, we found the *Martha Jewett* nearly ready to start up the river. We engaged our passage on board of her, and at six o'clock on Saturday evening [July 28]⁶¹ we were under weigh. We took a company of United States soldiers on at Jefferson barracks, who are bound for the western frontier, to fight the Indians. They were all, with one exception—the captain—young, single men, and all from Georgia. Some were slaveholders, and most of them pro-slavery men. . . .

We had one death on board while we were on the river, from consumption, a man of about forty-five. . . .

We arrived at Kansas City on Wednesday, the first inst., just at night, having been eight days and four hours from Boston. Twenty-four hours of which time we were stopping in Buffalo and Chicago, so it is not so long a journey as some might think.

The officers of the *Martha Jewett*, especially Capt. Burton, have our thanks for attentions shown to us while on their Boat, our stay with them being very agreeable, and in fact with the exception of a little fatigue, our whole journey was very pleasant. The entire cost of the journey from Boston to Lawrence is but a trifle less than fifty dollars.

EDWARD P. FITCH.⁶²

Thomas H. Webb reported to the trustees at their September 15 meeting that a small party of twenty-four New Englanders had left for Kansas on September 11, 1855, under the guidance of L. H. Bascom.⁶³ This is the last mention found of the departure of Emigrant Aid Company parties in the year 1855. No rosters have been located for any of the parties after the one of May 8, 1855.

61. Date supplied from letter of Edward P. Fitch, July 28, 1855, in correspondence in the Emigrant Aid Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

62. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, August 11, 1855.

63. "Trustees' Records," v. I, p. 179.—Meeting of September 15, 1855.

Lewis Bodwell, Frontier Preacher; The Early Years

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

DURING the stormy days of early Kansas, religion as well as politics played an important role in determining the destiny of the new territory. Slavery and freedom, speculation and sober investment, thieves and adventurers and moral idealists, broken-down politicians and professional agitators, visionaries and soldiers of fortune, and last but not least, frontiersmen who wanted land and not loot—such was the strange mixture that made up “Bleeding Kansas.”

In a boiling cauldron of this nature there was little wonder that religion was greatly influenced by the troubled state of affairs. Preachers became intense partisans, and sometimes active participants in violence, to promote the cause in which they believed. Organized Christianity found it difficult to function, while the prevalence of violence and lurid propaganda created an atmosphere contrary to true religion. The urgent need of ready finances, suffered by all frontier areas, made the struggling churches of the Kansas border beseech their Eastern friends for aid, particularly when the prevailing disorders affected them adversely. In all of this, politics and religion were often mixed in an inextricable manner, since the Antislavery churches were frequently the chief backers of the Northern settlers, while their Southern rivals were almost as energetic in supporting their particular denominations.¹ In short, politics and religion were vital parts of the two civilizations that were struggling for mastery upon the Kansas prairies.

Out of these troubles came a growing tendency to look to the East for aid, while the isolation of the border and the privations endured by the settlers gave a characteristic flavor to frontier Christianity. The towns founded by the New England Emigrant Aid Company also became the sites of active pioneer churches. From these centers radiated an atmosphere strongly opposed to slavery, almost equally antagonistic to the evils of strong drink, and firm in its advocacy of free schools and of regular church at-

1. By the 1850's the slavery issue had made a definite split in many of the established churches with a consequent fillip in religious and missionary zeal. See William Warren Sweet, "Some Religious Aspects of the Kansas Struggle," *Journal of Religion*, Chicago, (v. VII) October, 1927, pp. 578-595.

tendance. The critics of the New England way of life deprecated the relentless pursuit of the "Almighty Dollar," Puritanic intolerance and the "famous Boston propaganda," yet despite all these defects, from the standpoint of the cultural, the humanitarian, and the religious the centers of New England influence were pronounced leaders, thereby leaving to the future a heritage of lasting value.

The Congregational church began its history in Kansas in the fall of 1854, when the Rev. Samuel Y. Lum arrived in the new settlement of Lawrence, "to proclaim the gospel in Kansas."² He was sent by the American Home Missionary Society as a pioneer missionary and agent, with limited supervisory powers over Congregationalism in the new territory. In October, 1854, Lum and a group of pioneer settlers organized the Plymouth Congregational Church of Lawrence.³ Later in the fall the Rev. Samuel L. Adair arrived in Kansas under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, and in the following March began to preach in Osawatomie and vicinity.⁴ In November, 1854, the Rev. Charles E. Blood began work along the Blue river, and in the spring of 1855 in Manhattan itself.⁵ In May, 1855, the Rev. Harvey Jones arrived under American Missionary Association auspices, and soon began to preach at Wabaunsee and vicinity.⁶ Soon after this the Rev. John H. Byrd began work at Leavenworth, Easton, and Grasshopper Falls (now Valley Falls).⁷ No church was organized during 1855, but 1856 saw the official founding of seven, including Manhattan, Osawatomie, Zeandale, Topeka, Council City (now Burlingame), Bloomington, and Kanwaka.⁸ The speculative boom

2. The best general account of Congregationalism in early Kansas is by the Rev. Richard Cordley, in *The Congregational Quarterly*, Boston, July, 1876, entitled: "Congregationalism in Kansas." See, also, the official publication for Kansas, *The Congregational Record*, before 1859 entitled *Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas*. Cordley points out that the Kansas crusade resulted in turning Congregationalism into a region farther south than would otherwise have been the case. Eli Thayer, founder of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, stressed the importance of turning the North into the South, in order to stop the expansion of slavery, and to bring about its final extinction.

3. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 314, 327. The name was intended to draw a parallel between the Kansas settlers and the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

4. Cordley, *op. cit.* (reprint), p. 4. For a distinction between the American Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association, see Footnote 23, below.

5. Cordley, *op. cit.*, p. 4. *Congregational Record*, (v. II, No. 2) April, 1860. The Manhattan church was the second of this faith to be organized in Kansas. For his first sermon at that place (then called Boston), April 22, 1855, Blood used the text: "These that have turned the world upside down have come hither also." In the sketch of this church in the "Kansas Church Charts" of the Kansas State Historical Society (v. IV, Congregational, p. 6), are the following comments: "An outpost of freedom from the first it took a radical position as to the great reforms of the day. It declared slavery a 'high crime against God and humanity,' refused fellowship with any ecclesiastical body sustaining it directly or indirectly. Its bylaws enjoined upon members total abstinence from the manufacture, sale or use of all intoxicating liquors except for mechanical, scientific or medical purposes. . . . On its subscription list for building are found the names of Owen P. Lovejoy, John B. Gough, Horace Greeley, Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln."

6. Congregational church chart, *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

7. Cordley, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

of 1857 created an atmosphere unfavorable to the cause of religion, but did not prevent the convening of a general association of the Congregational churches of Kansas at Topeka. Among the resolutions adopted was a strong condemnation of slavery, and provision for the location of a college (the original germ of Washburn College).⁹ In their general address to Congregationalism the association asserted: "It shall be our aim . . . to transplant the principles and institutions of the Puritans to these fertile plains."¹⁰ Although 1858 was a year of hard times in Kansas, eleven churches were organized, and when the general association met at Manhattan, there were 21 churches in the new territory and 402 members, an impressive record of growth for so short and troubled a period.¹¹

The first steps to organize a Congregational church in Topeka were taken October 14, 1855, when a meeting of nine persons was held at the cabin of James Cowles to arrange for an Antislavery church of this denomination. A committee was appointed to draft appropriate articles of faith, and a subscription list was started to raise the funds necessary for a church building.¹² Organization was completed at a meeting in Constitution Hall, July 14, 1856, when James Cowles and H. W. Farnsworth were elected deacons; John Ritchie, Milton C. Dickey, and Henry P. Waters, trustees; and Martin Gaylord, clerk or secretary. Application was made to the Topeka Association for land as the site of a place of worship, and the trustees of the new church were given six lots, at the corner of Seventh and Harrison streets.¹³ At the time of organization the church numbered only nine members.¹⁴ The title of "The Free Congregational Church of Topeka" was then adopted, along with articles

9. *Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers & Churches in Kansas (Congregational Record, v. I),* p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 12. Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 167.

11. Cordley, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17. Statistics of each of these churches, dated October 8, 1858, are found in *The Congregational Record* (v. I, No. 1), p. 9. As early as 1854 the Methodists (Northern division) divided Kansas and Nebraska into two circuits each, and provided preachers, and by 1858 this church numbered 47 ministers and 1,980 members, making it more of a pioneer church than the Congregational.—Andrew Stark, *The Kansas Annual Register for the Year 1864* (Leavenworth, 1864), pp. 84, 85.

12. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 548, quoting the memorial discourse of Pres. Peter McVicar of Washburn College, April 25, 1880; also a historical sketch by the same author in the *Topeka State Record*, January 20, 1864. The original minutes of the meetings are found in the documentary record book of the First Congregational Church of Topeka, hereafter cited "Church Record Book."

13. Andreas-Cutler, preceding citation; "Church Record Book," entry of July 14, 1856. The first church in Topeka was the Methodist Episcopal, organized March 21, 1855, with J. S. Griffing, pastor. However, the Congregationalists were the first to have a church home, which was completed in 1861.

14. *Congregational Record*, (v. I, No. 1) January, 1859, p. 9; first quarterly report of Lewis Bodwell to the American Home Missionary Society (henceforth usually abbreviated A. H. M. S.), January 10, 1857, in Bodwell Papers, Manuscripts division, Kansas State Historical Society. Unless otherwise stated practically all the letters quoted in this article are from the Bodwell Papers.

of faith and a covenant in the usual New England manner,¹⁵ which repeated the traditional doctrine of the fall of man, and the means of atonement through Christ.¹⁶ It was further asserted "that the Christian Sabbath is an institution of divine appointment & its observance of perpetual obligation," and the "Constitution & Standing Rules" (Article X) made members liable to discipline for "immorality & neglect of the gospel & stated means of grace."¹⁷

Late in December, 1854, S. Y. Lum preached the first sermon at Topeka, and during the winter of 1854-1855 he continued at irregular intervals to serve the new community. Thereafter the Rev. Jonathan Copeland and the Rev. Paul Shepherd preached occasionally, but the congregation became very desirous of obtaining a minister who would reside at his post of duty.¹⁸ Soon after arriving in Kansas, Lum foresaw the probability that the new settlement at Topeka would need a pastor,¹⁹ and by July, 1856, he wrote Lewis Bodwell: "There can be but little doubt that it is destined to become a prominent place, the country about is nearly all taken up by actual settlers.—The brethren are of the right stamp; men of more than ordinary information & energy. They have collected several hundred dollars for a church edifice, &c, &c."²⁰

Since Bodwell had already determined to remove to the West, and looked upon Topeka with favor, he wrote to Milton Badger of the Missionary Society quoting Lum to support his candidacy for a pastorate at that place.²¹ As Kansas agent Lum corresponded regularly with the society concerning affairs in the new territory, and undoubtedly was very influential in obtaining the appointment of

15. *Ibid.* The principle of autonomy being fundamental, each Congregational church framed its own statement of doctrine, although certain formulations like the "Cambridge Platform" were generally accepted. The Topeka church later dropped the prefix "Free" and substituted "First," when slavery was no longer an issue.

16. "We believe that all mankind are by nature in a lost & ruined state, deserving the curse of God, which is eternal death; can make no atonement for their sins; nor in any way deliver themselves from the just penalty of the divine law."

"We believe that God has by the death of his Son provided an ample atonement for the Sins of the world. . . ." He has "purposed to bring an innumerable multitude to repentance."

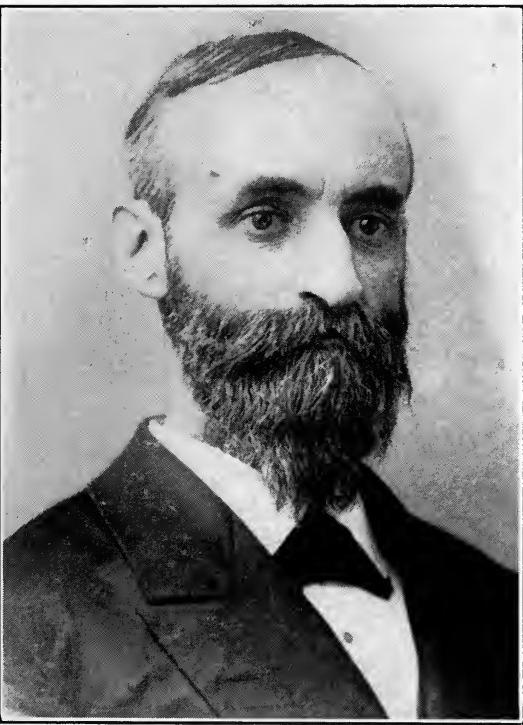
17. "Constitution & Standing Rules" in "Church Record Book." Article XI defined immorality as including the use of distilled liquors, holding men as slaves, and attending dances or theaters. A number of members were disciplined for violating these regulations, and several were expelled from the church.

18. McVicar, sketch in Topeka *State Record*, cited above; Fry W. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 332-336. Despite these limitations, a "flourishing Sabbath school" was organized, and several Bible classes held.

19. Letter of Lum to *The Home Missionary* magazine of February, 1855: "Since my last communication I have made an exploring tour up the river. From what I saw I am disposed to think there are perhaps two localities that will soon prove worthy the notice of your society [the A. H. M. S.], in fact one of them may need a man immediately. This place, on the Kansas river, about twenty-five miles from Lawrence, is just beginning to be settled by Eastern men. A town . . . will soon be laid out. . . ."

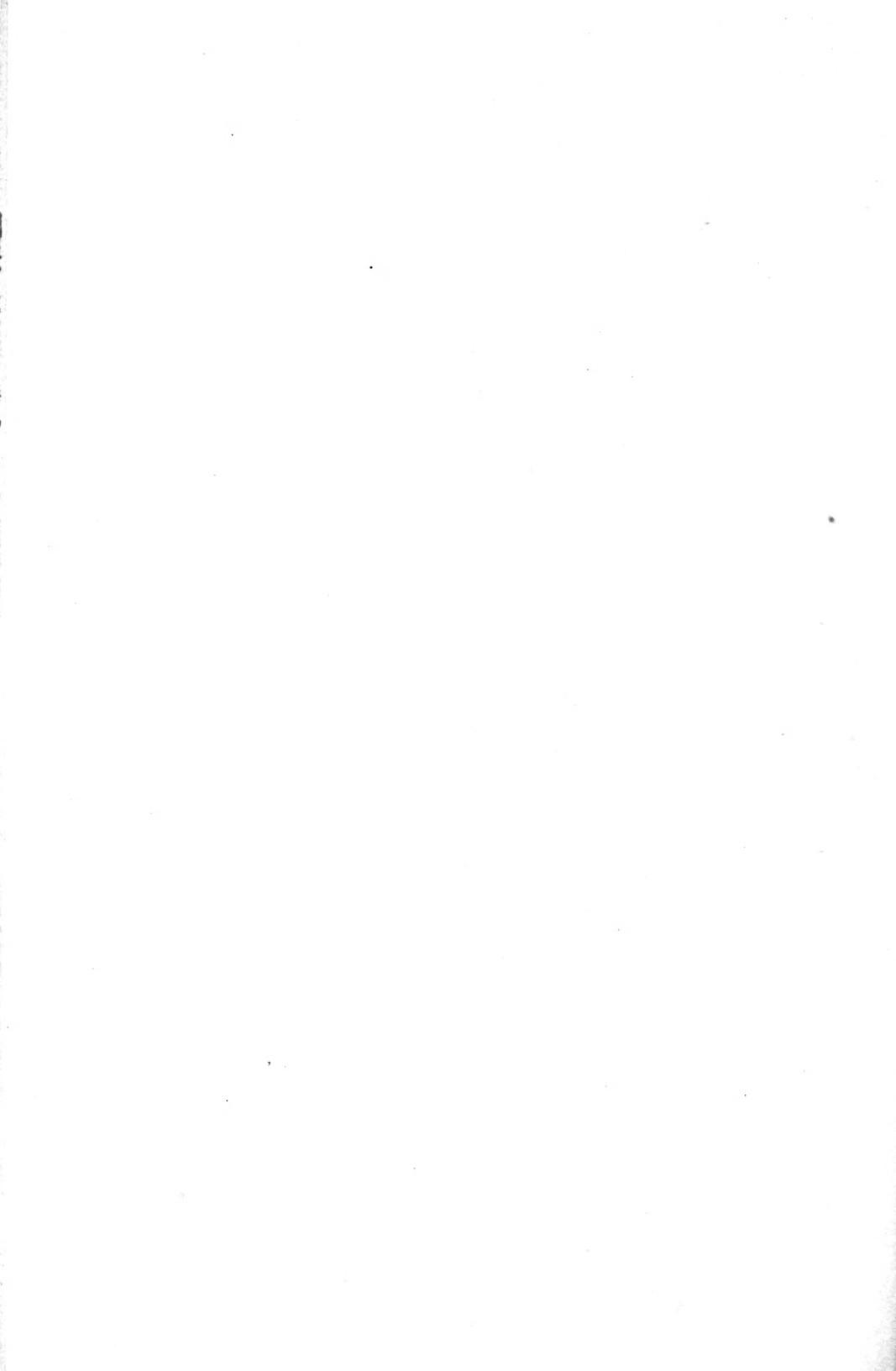
20. Bodwell to Milton Badger of the A. H. M. S., July 21, 1856.

21. He added that there seemed to be nothing "*in the way* of the progress, or at least of the *foundation* of a church in T[opeka]."—*Ibid.*



REV. LEWIS BODWELL
1827-1894

The first resident pastor of the First Congregational Church in Topeka. He served during the years 1856-1860, and 1866-1869.



Bodwell. Late in the summer of 1856, when Bodwell received his commission,²² he was instructed to consult with Lum as to a suitable location, but the executives of the American Home Missionary Society appear to have given him considerable freedom in the matter, as was their custom when sending missionaries to remote regions on the frontier.²³

Lewis Bodwell, the son of Anson G. and Elizabeth Ives Bodwell, was born at New Haven, Conn., in 1827, the eldest of a family of six sons and four daughters, of the best New England lineage.²⁴ With the exception of a time at Farmington, Conn., his childhood days were spent at New Haven, where he attended the Lancasterian school of Doctor Lovell. As a pupil there he excelled in arithmetic, and because of his scholarly ability he was made a monitor in the school.²⁵ In 1847 he united with the Howe Street Congregational Church of New Haven, and by the close of the following year he had decided to prepare for the ministry.²⁶ However, Lewis did not possess the means to bring his dream to immediate fruition, and he was obliged to enter the teaching profession. After fulfilling his engagement at New Haven, he accepted a teaching position for the year 1849-1850 at Trenton, N. J. He spent the following year in the seminary at Cazenovia, N. Y., where he distinguished himself for his scholarly abilities.

Despite the fact that he was seriously retarded by severe illness from typhoid fever, Bodwell completed a second year in 1852, and a third in 1853.²⁷ During the first half of the third year he was absent when he acted as a private tutor in the family of Judge Dex-

22. Bodwell to Badger, October 2 and 21, 1856.

23. Milton Badger was senior secretary of the society, and was assisted by David B. Coe and Daniel P. Noyes, with offices at Bible House, Astor Place, New York City. Before the Civil War this organization was the most important agency for home missions, among the Protestant churches, and included Dutch Reformed, Associate Reformed, Congregational and Presbyterian churches, although the latter two were by far the most important. It was founded in 1826, and by its tenth year supported 755 missionaries, of whom 191 were in the West.—See Colin Brummitt Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier, With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939). The American Missionary Association, a separate organization founded in 1846 with more pronounced anti-slavery principles, also sent several representatives to Kansas territory.

24. The most detailed biography the writer has seen is a reprint from the Clifton Springs (N. Y.) *Press*, entitled *In Memoriam—Rev. Lewis Bodwell*, which appeared at the time of his death. In 1860 he wrote that he was one of a family of eight, so apparently there had already been several deaths. At sixty his parents were "with no property but children," and Lewis regarded himself responsible for the support of several of his younger brothers and sisters.

25. Monitors in the Lancasterian schools usually supervised the work of ten pupils, and received free tuition for their services. In a letter of recommendation of the Rev. N. Porter, Farmington, Conn., to Milton Badger, July 14, 1856, Lewis Bodwell was praised as being distinguished from early boyhood "for his bright talents, amicable deportment & love of learning."

26. *In Memoriam*, p. 7. In his private journal, under the date of January 1, 1849, he wrote: "To-day I made, or tried to make, a beginning of my studies for the first time with a definite object in view. I feel that this day is, in one sense, the commencement of life to me."—*Ibid.*, p. 8.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ter, of Dexter, Mich., a position which he resumed during the year 1853-1854. Bodwell was also very active in the Congregational churches where he resided, and came to serve as a substitute pastor. By thus combining teaching and study, he was able to support himself, while gaining an education, but this strenuous method may have contributed to a heart ailment, which appeared in 1854. He entered the sanitarium at Clifton Springs, N. Y., where he gained a new lease on life, but he was obliged to forego his ambition to study at Yale, in preparation for the ministry. In August, 1855, Lewis Bodwell accepted a pastorate at Truxton, N. Y.²⁸ While there he received enthusiastic support from his congregation, the members of which "would do anything possible to retain him," but by 1856 Bodwell was determined to remove to the West.²⁹ Before taking a final leave of Truxton, however, he was ordained by the old Cortland Presbytery.³⁰ This brought to an end the years of training and preparation for his life work, a period concluded by a year of actual experience in the field. Lewis Bodwell was considered energetic and persevering in disposition, and gifted with a good knowledge of human nature.³¹ Although lacking the advantages of a college education, he was still regarded as quite well informed, and as having "acquired a good education—equal perhaps to that which young men ordinarily acquired. . . . He speaks extempore with great facility & effect; & yet is fond of writing out his discourses, when time is allowed."³² All in all, he appears to have been better prepared for his profession than many of his day and age.

During the early days of the Kansas struggle, Lewis Bodwell appears to have conceived a deep concern in the fate of that territory. At any rate, when in the summer of 1856 the Kansas Missionary Band was formed at Andover Theological Seminary, with the aims of planting the gospel in that region, and supporting the cause of freedom, he immediately became interested. Although

28. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

29. Letter of recommendation of the Rev. J. A. Priest of Homer, N. Y., July 31, 1856, to Milton Badger of the A. H. M. S. "But his heart is on the West; he seems a brother of 'the single eye.' " He was "a very earnest & eloquent speaker & a person of untiring industry. . . . He seems just the man for such a point as Topeka."

30. *In Memoriam*, p. 12; "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," by Lewis Bodwell, *The Kansas Telephone*, Manhattan, (v. II, No. 2) July, 1881.

31. Letter of recommendation of the Rev. W. D. L. Lowe, Berlin, Conn., July 17, 1856, to Milton Badger of the A. H. M. S.

32. Letter of the Reverend Porter, cited above. "I would wish that he had the discipline which a regular course in college & the Theological School would have given," but regardless of this, Bodwell probably would excel those so trained. The Reverend Lowe was even more emphatic in his regret that Bodwell lacked such training, even though he had "picked up much knowledge . . . which legitimately belongs to these departments of Education." He had advised Bodwell to devote at least a year to study, but despite his deficiency, he probably would "do better in the Home Missionary field than many you feel called upon to send."

never himself a member, he corresponded frequently with the group, and after arriving in Kansas, he became their most reliable informant, since he was on the spot a year before his friends, who did not complete their training until 1857.³³

Early in September, 1856, before the disorders of that troubled year had ended, Lewis Bodwell left for the Kansas border. The Missourians had virtually closed the Missouri river to Northern emigrants, so Bodwell decided to join an emigrant train which was taking the longer route through Iowa and Nebraska.³⁴ Lewis joined his brother Sherman at Joliet, Ill., and on September 20 they came to the Western terminus of railroads at Iowa City, where they hoped to find an expedition, bound for Kansas, but they did not actually overtake the outfit until they reached Osceola, Iowa.³⁵ This train was organized in a military manner, and was a part of the Northern "emigration" which traveled by way of the "Lane trail" through Iowa and present Nebraska.³⁶ By joining this organization, Bodwell hoped to save money and gain increased safety, but he apparently did not realize the added danger which he was incurring by joining a detachment of "Lane's Army of the North."³⁷ He wrote: "As did most of the men, I marched on foot to Afton in Union Co, a distance of 30 miles. The small number of trains—17 & their heavy loading rendered this a matter of necessity."³⁸ Here he was fortunate to find a bed of shavings on the floor, which he shared with his companions. The next day being Sunday, Bodwell absented himself from the expedition, and preached his first

33. Members of the Kansas band who became prominent ministers in Kansas, included Sylvester Storrs, Grosvenor C. Morse, Roswell D. Parker, and Richard Cordley. Storrs conceived the idea of doing for Kansas what the Iowa band from Andover had done for Iowa, and formed a club with this in view. About a dozen students held a weekly prayer meeting and get-together in Storrs' room, in the interest of freedom in Kansas. They were willing to go to the border en masse, with guns and other "necessities," but in 1857 when the outcome became apparent, interest declined. That summer Milton Badger arranged for the commissions of those about to graduate, who were to "proclaim the gospel in Kansas," with an annual stipend of \$600. They were not assigned to any particular place, but Storrs went to Quindaro and Wyandotte, Cordley to Lawrence, Parker to Leavenworth, and Morse to Emporia.

For the antecedents of the Kansas band, see the work by Goodykoontz, cited above (pp. 195, 249 *et seq.*). The Illinois band of 1852 resulted in the founding of Illinois College, and the Iowa band of 1843 Iowa College (later Grinnell). The Kansas band continued this tradition by the founding of Lincoln College (later Washburn).

34. "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," *loc. cit.*; Bodwell to Badger, October 2, 1856.

35. Bodwell to Badger, and to John Hobbie ("Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 1, 2), both from Tabor, Iowa, October 2, 1856. The conductor of this train, Shalor W. Eldridge, has written a fairly good account, entitled: "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. II (1920).

36. Eldridge, S. C. Pomeroy, and John A. Perry commanded the train, while M. C. Dickey, a trustee of Bodwell's church, acted as quartermaster, and controlled most of the wagons used for transportation.—See W. E. Connelley, "The Lane Trail," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, pp. 268-279; also Wendell Holmes Stephenson, "The Political Career of Gen. James H. Lane," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. III (1930), pp. 70-83. The expedition was under the auspices of the National Kansas Committee.

37. During the summer it had been rumored that Lane was about to enter Kansas with two thousand "armed outlaws," to rob and kill the Proslavery people, and Bodwell reported that this rumor was again in circulation (letter to Hobbie, October 2, 1856, *loc. cit.*).

38. Tabor letter of Bodwell to Badger, cited above.

sermon in the home missionary service, among the shavings of his host.³⁹

A march of two days brought the train to Tabor, the general point of rendezvous for emigrants to Kansas on the Northern route.⁴⁰ While here Bodwell stayed with the Rev. John Todd, pastor of the Congregational church. He was informed that Governor Geary, although a recent arrival in Kansas, was already "carrying out the same general course as his predecessors, ie 'subduing freedom,'" and had arrested a considerable number of Free-State men; also that Methodist ministers had been driven from Leavenworth by the "border ruffians."⁴¹ Bodwell remarked:

I am growing more & more convinced that the "gross exaggerations" of which we hear so much at the East, fall far short of the fearful realities, of stolen property, wasted fields, burning dwellings, ravished women & scalped & murdered men, the acts of a "law and order" party, kept in countenance by officers appointed by our president, & removed in case of any doubt of a leaning in any but one direction.⁴²

The expedition resumed its march October 3, but it was delayed by prairie fires, which Bodwell described as follows:

I must say that the fearful splendors of a prairie on fire can only be realized from being seen.—This, my first sight, was truly a grand one . . . , a wall of fire a mile in length moving along the prairie as fast as a man upon a moderate walk.⁴³

The next day they crossed the Missouri river and went into camp at Nebraska City, where they learned of the peaceful turn of affairs in Kansas.⁴⁴ After a few days of rest the march was re-

39. "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," which contains a detailed diary of the trip; also Tabor letter of Bodwell to Hobbie. Bodwell preached twice at Afton, and was well received. His host declined to accept any payment, remarking that "my rule is that of the Indiana ferryman—preachers and dogs go free." They soon rejoined the train at the French colony of Iearia.

40. Eldridge points out that, while here, military preparations were made, but at the same time steps were taken to conceal the martial aspect of the train.—Eldridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 110.

41. The arrests alluded to were in enforcing the proclamation of Geary, which ordered all unauthorized bodies of militia to disband. The force under Col. James A. Harvey was taken into custody soon after participating in the battle of Hickory Point. There was no truth in the charge that Geary was "subduing freedom"—in reality he was friendly to the Free-State cause, but he was forced to take summary measures, to end the threat of civil war. Two Methodist preachers from the North had been expelled from Leavenworth, because of the intense feeling against this denomination, as a spreader of Abolitionism—an attitude then common in western Missouri.

42. Bodwell to Badger, and to John Hobbie, October 2, 1856. Bodwell appears to have believed many lurid tales that were largely propaganda. Of stolen property there was clearly a great plenty, particularly of horses, but both sides were equally guilty. Of "wasted fields" and "burning dwellings" there were far less, although attacks by fire were serious, at Lawrence and elsewhere. The charge of "ravished women" was almost wholly false, while the number of "scalped" or "murdered men" was far less than sensational accounts had placed them.

43. Bodwell to Hobbie, from camp near Nebraska City, October 6, 1856, in "Bodwell Scrapbook," p. 2.

44. Eldridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 110; Gihon, John H., *Geary and Kansas* (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 187, 188; Bodwell to Hobbie, October 6. Messengers had been sent to Geary, advising him of their peaceful intentions, to which the governor replied that such emigrants were welcome, but that he was determined that no force with implements of war should enter the territory. To Bodwell this seemed to be a guarantee for their peaceful and uninterrupted entry, provided they were peaceful, "(as we are)."

sumed, and upon October 9 the outfit approached the territorial line. Great care was exercised to divest the train of hostile appearances,⁴⁵ but despite this, the expedition aroused the suspicion of Cols. P. St. George Cook and Wm. S. Preston, in command of a force of federals sent to examine the outfit. After close examination, the emigrant wagons were found to contain "a supply of new arms, mostly muskets and sabres, and a lot of saddles, etc., sufficient to equip a battalion."⁴⁶ When the emigrants refused escort to Lecompton, the federal officers were obliged to seize the superfluous arms, and place the entire party under arrest.⁴⁷

Lewis Bodwell wrote: "I am where I have for some time wished and hoped to be, in Kansas; but also where I did not expect to be—under arrest! We are prisoners to U. S. Deputy-Marshal Preston."⁴⁸ Instead of the letter of Geary obtaining unmolested passage for them, they had been "stopped in the midst of a drizzling rain, and tents, baggage and . . . all arms and ammunition not claimed as private *individual* property seized."⁴⁹ On October 11, 1856, they proceeded under guard to Straight creek, and the following day, which was Sunday, to Elk creek. At night about the camp fire, Bodwell was invited to preach his first sermon in Kansas, and took for his text the words of Christ: "Lo, I am with you always."⁵⁰

On the morning of October 14, 1856, when the expedition reached the Pappan ferry of the Kansas river, near Topeka, Governor Geary met the emigrants, reminded them of the suspicious position they occupied, and demanded that they immediately disband their military organization. An agreement to this effect was quickly concluded, although some of the emigrants later reassembled, and made a triumphant entry into Lawrence.⁵¹

45. The enlistment of the companies was annulled, the cannon they were bringing in was buried on the prairie, and the arms were more carefully concealed.

46. Geary to Secretary of State Marcy, October 15, 1856, quoted in Gihon, *op. cit.*, p. 189: "Besides these arms, the immigrants were provided with shot-guns, rifles, pistols, knives, &c., sufficient for the ordinary uses of persons travelling in Kansas, or any other of the western territories." A letter of M. C. Dickey to Thaddeus Hyatt, head of the National Kansas Committee, indicates that that organization had provided the "surplus arms."

47. Gihon, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190; Eldridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 111.

48. Bodwell to Hobbie, from Plymouth, K. T., October 11, 1856.—"Bodwell Scrap-book," p. 3.

49. *Ibid.*; also "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," cited above, entry of October 10, 1856.

50. Bodwell's first quarterly report to the A. H. M. S., January 10, 1857. His travel diary, as found in "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," indicates that his first sermon in Kansas was delivered while in camp on Elk creek, and not upon Straight creek, as stated by Cordley, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

51. Gihon, *op. cit.*, p. 190; Eldridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 111. The reply of Eldridge and the officers of the train is also found here. The question of who were settlers, and who adventurers or soldiers of fortune, or even thieves or "jayhawkers," was often a decided puzzle. More than one combined conflicting roles in the same person.

Lewis Bodwell and his brother Sherman crossed the Kansas river and found a bed at a hotel in Topeka, "not quite so clean as that of last night upon the grass, no more comfortable and more fully occupied."⁵² Lewis had an empty pocket, but fortunately his brother had some \$13, and paid the bills, although it later developed that \$100 for travel was due from the Missionary Society.⁵³ Lewis had intended to act immediately upon the instructions of the society, and to consult with the Reverend Lum as to the advisability of locating at Topeka.⁵⁴ He now learned that Lum was out of the territory, and already knowing that he favored Topeka, Bodwell at once located at that place, "as the most important unoccupied point in the country."⁵⁵ He found a church organization of approximately eleven members, who were waiting for a pastor. The day after his arrival he made his first pastoral call upon a member who was building a brick chimney (H. W. Farnsworth), and the next upon a sick member (Henry P. Waters), in the garret of an unfinished house of two rooms, with blanket partitions, and with a hole in the roof for a future chimney. Bodwell met his third member (William Scales), with wife and daughter, in their primitive cabin home. "In their two rooms of about 10 x 12, and the garret 12 x 20 feet, which last you enter stooping or on all fours, they are doing a fine business at keeping boarders."⁵⁶ Later that day he met the clerk of his church, Martin Gaylord. They went to Gaylord's cabin two miles out, which was well ventilated by one- to two-inch openings between the logs, and had supper of potatoes, bacon, and flapjacks.⁵⁷ In one day Bodwell had thus visited four of the "seven pillars" of his church, and had obtained first hand knowledge of life in Kansas.⁵⁸ To ob-

52. "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," *loc. cit.*, entry of October 14.

53. *Ibid.* This was in line with the custom of that organization, which sent its men to the more distant regions with expenses paid to their destination, and with a pledge of full support for a year.—Goodykoontz, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

54. Tabor letter of Bodwell to the Missionary Society, cited above. It was also customary for a new missionary in the West to seek the advice of the agent of the society, if such an officer were located in that region.

55. Bodwell's first quarterly report, January 10, 1857.

56. "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," entry of October 15.

57. *Ibid.* Bodwell added that this was the first of many such meals, although often without the potatoes. "Seasoned by hunger, followed by God's word, and a season of worship, whose uplifting power no temple service could exceed."

58. In calling the roll of four of the "seven pillars," Bodwell apparently identifies each of these members. Another a few miles away, and two among the prisoners at Lecompton, completed the list. Under entry of October 30, he wrote that he had obtained permission of Col. H. T. Titus to make a pastoral call upon one of his members (John Ritchie), a prisoner at Lecompton—"charged with stealing mules, (which, by the way, means about this: in company with other free state men, in an attack upon some old border enemies, the latter are defeated, and some mules remain in the hands of the victors)."

Ritchie was alleged to have been one of Colonel Whipple's (Aaron D. Stephens') force, charged with stealing horses, mules, and merchandise, and to have been at Hickory Point during the first day's battle. He was indicted with many others on the charge of manslaughter, but he escaped from prison. As suggested by Bodwell above, horses and mules, when found in the possession of the "wrong" side, were regarded as proper "spoils of war."

tain a more complete appreciation of the problems facing him, he now devoted ten days to exploration and planning, during which he slept at night upon the prairie grass.

Lewis Bodwell delivered his first sermon in Topeka—the first by a regularly appointed pastor of the Free Congregational Church, October 26, 1856. This was his first chance to use the only public room of the new settlement—Constitution Hall—“a rough, unplastered room, board and slab seats, a shaky cottonwood table, and an audience of about twenty-five.”⁵⁹ In a letter to Doctor Badger of the Home Missionary Society, Bodwell described the situation as follows:

Contrary to my expectation a church has been formed in this place about a year, but the troubles which have come upon the territory have prevented its progress. The church will embrace 13 members & several more stand ready to unite at an early day. A subscription has also been commenced for the erection of a church which amounts to some \$350. Tho. I intend making a determined effort to at least get the material upon the ground before Spring, I cannot say that the prospect is very flattering. Our forces are diminished by very [various] causes. Of our three trustees, one is just (& slowly) recovering from a severe illness; another has gone East to spend the winter; & the third is a prisoner & now on trial at Lecompton, with the other Free State men. . . .⁶⁰ All the religious meetings of the place are held in a public room, called Constitution Hall, used for the meetings of the Free State Legislature, the same one as that from which Col. Sumner drove that body last July [4th]. . . . Preachers of 5 different orders, with more or less frequency & regularity use the same room—viz:—Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Moravians & Unitarians. We hope, pray, & shall labor for a house of worship of our own. It is the ardent wish of our people. It will be at the cost of great efforts & sacrifices, that this will be accomplished. . . .⁶¹

Bodwell believed that the recent disorders were responsible for much of the suffering in Kansas, and resulted in a great retardation of the cause of religion.⁶² In his view the worth-while things of life were very largely bound up with a victory of the Free-State cause. He wrote as follows:

By the disarrangement of all kinds of business; by direct losses owing to this disarrangement—to plunderings & burnings or to sacrifices made directly for the support of free state principles; sacrifices of time, labor, money, crops, many if not all our people are hard pressed for means. One man, a leading, devoted, influential Christian, has not only spent weeks of time in defense of the territory, but last year fed out at Lawrence some 300 bushels of potatoes,

59. “Sixty Days Home Missionary Work,” entry of October 26, 1856.

60. The sick trustee apparently was H. P. Waters, the one having gone East M. C. Dickey, and the one a prisoner at Lecompton John Ritchie. The checkered career of the latter is considered in detail later.

61. Bodwell to Badger, October 21, 1856.

62. *Ibid.* Whether trouble and suffering retard the progress of real religion, is a moot question, but at any rate, it does seem clear that the disorders of “Bleeding Kansas” hindered organized Christianity.

his years crop, his all, on which he was depending as the means of paying for his quarter section of pre-empted land. Many have suffered more & some less, but none who are earnest and active have escaped unharmed.⁶³

In a letter to John Hobbie, of about the same time, Bodwell spoke in a similar vein:

The talk about *exaggeration* is all *nonsense*. All the horrors which clustered about and made up the history of early border wars with the Indians, have been and are being re-enacted here. . . . Forty families left the Valley of the Neosho in rags, to avoid starvation, whom 40 barrels of flour would have kept in the Territory. Hundreds remaining, unable to get away, whose *only food is grated corn*. . . . Under the instigation of "*an officer of the law*," the Kaw Indians of Northern Kansas are throwing down the fences, driving their horses into and through, trampling down and carrying off with perfect impunity the few remaining crops of the *Free State settlers*.⁶⁴

In such a deplorable state of affairs, Bodwell believed his people had conducted themselves in a manner highly praiseworthy. He wrote to the Missionary Society:

The minister can scarcely do more than keep people reminded of duty. . . . Already I have had the privilege of visiting, praying, eating, sleeping, in the unchinked, unplastered cabin of the Christian, where at his bedside, beside his Bible, stood his musket, loaded & primed & ready within reach for instant service. I can but look with joy upon such piety as amid the scenes of the past year, amid the duties of the cabin & *the camp*, can live & grow; & finding about me men of such spirit, I should be unworthy and ungrateful did I not "thank God & take courage."⁶⁵

Although Bodwell discovered that the early progress of his church "had been destroyed or rendered inoperative, by the troubles of the summer & autumn," he quickly undertook the work of building anew. After his first sermon on October 26, he preached regularly upon alternate Sundays in Constitution Hall, until more satisfactory quarters could be obtained elsewhere (Union Hall). The "Sabbath" or Sunday School was reorganized, and now contained some fifteen children, in addition to four Bible classes of young people and adults, making a total of some fifty or sixty persons. A Bible society, previously organized, was now revived, and a supply of valuable Bibles obtained. Every Sunday evening they held a

63. Bodwell to Badger, October 21, 1856. Bodwell's political observations are discussed in more detail below.

64. Dated October 17, 1856, in "Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 3, 4. He added that even though Geary now stated that "quiet reigns," there was a ruthless invasion of the polls, and 115 Free-State men were in prison, awaiting the action of Judge Lecompte. They wanted clothing and means to buy provisions, to retain the Free-State settlers.

Concerning the problem of relief, see Footnotes 110-114, below. Some of the above incidents arose from causes largely apart from the political, which Bodwell greatly over-emphasizes. The Kaw or Kansas included many vagabonds who were notorious for stealing and begging.

65. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., October 21, 1856. In view of these facts, Bodwell was not very hopeful that much of the burden of his salary could be transferred from the Missionary Society to his congregation, as was customary at the end of the first year, but he hoped to "do something" toward this end. For the first time that season there was now a good deal of sickness in Kansas (chills and fever).

prayer meeting, "which is usually largely attended by persons old & young both prosperous & non-prosperous, a goodly number taking a part & making the meeting lively, interesting, &, we hope, very profitable."⁶⁶

Sunday, November 2, 1856, Bodwell held a communion service which is said to have been the first ever administered in Topeka. Many of other denominations attended, there being a tendency in the West for people to disregard narrow sectarian lines.⁶⁷ By early January, 1857, there were in his church a total of sixteen members, and many more of other denominations who regularly attended. Despite their limited numbers and still more limited finances, in December, 1856, Bodwell's congregation voted to build a house of worship.⁶⁸ Bodwell was very hopeful for the future. "I have in a good degree gained the confidence of my church & congregation & thus have a prospect of having their hearty cooperation in my work among them."⁶⁹ From the time he arrived in Kansas, he was buoyed up by a spirit of optimism and a faith in the future victory of right over wrong, and no misfortune or evil influence of any sort could shatter this conviction.⁷⁰ The nature of the society at Topeka and vicinity encouraged him, as it bore "the true New England stamp." The sale of liquor was severely frowned upon by the best society,⁷¹ and an atmosphere of culture prevailed in the town, which was symbolized by the Kansas Philomathic Institute, with its library, weekly debates and newspaper.⁷² Bodwell concluded:

Very encouraging is the number of cases in which the Christian has come back warm & alive from his duties in the camp to his duties in the church, the prayer meeting, the [abbath] S[chool], & at the family altar. As far as I

66. Bodwell's first quarterly report, January 10, 1857. Permanent weekly prayer meetings began November 16, 1856, according to the historical sketch by Peter McVicar.—Topeka State Record, January 20, 1864.

67. *Ibid.* In "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," Bodwell wrote in his entry of November 2: "A stormy day. Preached in the morning; at 1 P. M., the communion service—no record or memory of any previous one in Topeka—a truly precious season to us."

68. McVicar, *loc. cit.*; Bodwell's first quarterly report.

69. In his report to the society, Bodwell made the following summary: "Six sermons each month; a prayer meeting weekly; the [abbath] S[chool] revived; the B[ible] Soc. res[tored] & eleven dollars placed in its treasury; a church Soc. formed & \$700 subscribed for house of worship; two communion services attended, with their prep[aratory] lectures; 6 persons added to church by letter; a somewhat full acquaintance with character, extent & wants of my field;"

70. In his letter to John Hobbie, October 17, 1856, Bodwell described the deplorable state of affairs, but he ended with the conviction that right would eventually prevail, in such a beautiful land, and among so noble a people, with God to protect them.—"Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 3, 4.

71. Bodwell's first quarterly report. The regulations of the Topeka Association forbade the sale of any lot for purposes of a saloon. There was a lack of enforceable law upon the subject, however, which induced the people to adopt summary measures.

72. This literary society, the first in Topeka, was organized during the winter of 1855-1856.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 540. Discussions were held weekly, with a lecture once a month. The society published a paper, *The Communicator*, and owned a library of 700 volumes. Its officers included several from Bodwell's church—James Cowles, who in 1856 was librarian, and Henry P. Waters, who was then secretary.—See Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, pp. 147, 148.

can learn profanity is no more common than in many N[ew]. E[ngland]. villages & here and there the Sabbath is at least outwardly a day of rest.⁷³ Why these signs of encouragement should be more plain & plentiful here than in other new settlements, especially in such as those of California, is I think accounted for by the motives which induced immigration here & there. A large proportion of those who came hither as "Northern paupers," came willing to remain paupers, provided their efforts could make the right successful. . . .⁷⁴ To no one can it be a matter of surprise, that often the debasing effect of war & commotion should be sadly manifest. . . . [Bodwell states at some length that such was not the case, as a rule.] To account for it, he must know, as do I, that so often the long hours in the guard room, by the campfire, on the march, & even in the filthy prison, were improved as seasons of private Christian communion. Christian soldiers must, will, *do* make Christian citizens.⁷⁵

Such a picture of frontier society could not be regarded complete without some mention of the darker aspects of life, which Lewis Bodwell at the start dismissed rather lightly. He remarked that he had followed Lum's advice "to prepare for all I did know & then allow largely for many unpleasant things which I did not know," and pointed out further:

Sinners here as elsewhere are neglecters & oftentimes fierce & persistent opposers of the truth. Christians "in good standing" do not always live up to their covenant vows. Nay, too many are "wandering stars"⁷⁶—stumbling blocks in the way of the church, the minister, & the world. Neither do I mean that it is pleasant spending a winter like this in a rough log cabin, deprived of all the luxuries and most of the comforts & conveniences of life, deprived of the privilege of study, or the opportunities for quiet retirement and meditation, which the soul so much needs. . . .⁷⁷

Since the American Home Missionary Society did not favor itinerant preachers, and was financially unable to provide pastors for

73. Bodwell's first quarterly report. New England ideals did in a measure stamp such settlements as Lawrence, Topeka, and Manhattan, but in general the characteristics of the border predominated, among which disregard of the Sabbath was a prominent feature. Bodwell's letters evince a youthful optimism, and a tendency to gloss over the sordid facts of life. For a more realistic approach to the matter of the Sabbath, see the account by Axalla John Hoole, in William Stanley Hoole, ed., "A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, (v. III, No. 2) May, 1934, p. 148.

74. The Northern "paupers" included many who were more in the nature of "dopes," brought to Kansas by the Emigrant Aid Company or similar organizations, who were unfit for the hard life of the frontier. When these unfortunates realized the true state of affairs, they often returned to the East, sadly disillusioned, but not without convincing many in Kansas and Missouri that they had fulfilled their mission of voting in the territory. The "pauper" charge was thus not quite as groundless as Bodwell believed, although it was badly "overdone" in Missouri. It is also doubtful that the emigration to Kansas was better than that to other frontiers, although Bodwell probably saw its better representatives in Topeka.

75. These remarks should be interpreted with due weight to Bodwell's youth, the recency of his arrival, and his characteristic optimism, all of which were probably conditioned by a desire to satisfy his employers.

76. The transient nature of frontier society was a basic obstacle to religion on the border. Many frontiersmen made repeated removals during their lives, each of which meant a severing of the social ties which had previously bound them. Another trouble was the diffused nature of the population. Many expected to "make their pile," then return to the East. The restraining influence of age, or of wives and mothers, was often lacking in a society composed largely of young men. See the interesting work by Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier* (New York, 1937), p. 384.

77. Bodwell's first quarterly report.

many small communities, it encouraged its missionaries to preach, as often as possible, in nearby places otherwise unprovided for. In Kansas the pioneer missionaries to some degree divided the chief settlements among them, thereby increasing the likelihood of locating at a "going" town. Besides acting as pastor at Topeka, Bodwell preached once upon alternate Sundays to some ten to twenty people in a private home at Kansapolis (also called Whitfield), a small Free-State settlement about four miles distant, and he regarded Tecumseh and Indianola as within his parish. This was a region some thirty to forty miles long, extending east to the parish of Lum, and west to those of Jones and Blood.⁷⁸

Early in 1857 Bodwell estimated that the four leading settlements of his parish aggregated some 800 to 1,000 population, with more in the immediate neighborhood. In a five-mile radius of nearly 1,500 population, "the supply of ministerial labor . . . has been for each month of four weeks:—two sermons at Tecumseh & two at Topeka by the M. E. preacher of the circuit; four at Topeka & two at Kansapolis by myself, & one at Topeka by a pr[eacher], of the order of United Brethren."⁷⁹ Because of increased work, and the existence of a Methodist preacher at Indianola, Bodwell later relinquished that place, but he continued to preach upon alternate Sunday afternoons at Kansapolis (now called Rochester), until in the summer of 1858 a flood of the Kansas river destroyed the bridge recently constructed across that stream, obliging him to give up the post.⁸⁰ With the growth of population the demand for preachers grew, and Bodwell received many requests for sermons, but he con-

78. S. Y. Lum, missionary at Lawrence until the arrival of Cordley, also acted as exploring agent of the society, for Kansas. Among the duties of this office was that of visiting needy and destitute parts of the country, but Lum found his work too burdensome to do a great amount of travel. The problem of itinerancy remained an issue until in 1860 the society named Bodwell to do this work.

79. First quarterly report. Tecumseh apparently was too much of a Proslavery settlement for Bodwell to preach there regularly. Most early-day estimates of population, such as that of Bodwell above, overrated the number of actual inhabitants.

In a circular letter of Bodwell (1857), appealing for financial help for his church, he drew a picture even more emphatic: "At Topeka,—in March last, a village of several hundreds of inhabitants,—your Home Missionary had a little Church of 24 members, equaling that at Lawrence, and larger than any other of the eight already organized in the territory. It is the *only* Home Missionary Church in a district of country, extending along the Kansas river 70 miles, from near Lawrence to Wabonsa; and from Council City to Nebraska; more than 100 miles from south to north. . . . Our only place of meeting at this important point is one public hall; the use of which is claimed by preachers of three or four other sects, at least three-fourths of the time on Sabbaths; while during the week the same room is in use for political gatherings, dancing, &c. . . . We are obliged to preach in the open air, in ball-rooms and bar-rooms and kitchens, as we may, and where we may. . . ."

80. Report to the A. H. M. S., September 28, 1858. Late in the winter of 1857-1858 Bodwell was forced to give up his appointments across the Kansas river, due to a fall from his horse, and the difficulty of crossing that stream. In a letter of June 25, 1858, he wrote: "Among our other late improvements a great and valuable public work is the bridge across the Kansas at this place, the first which public effort has ever built over this stream. . . . After its destruction he wrote (September 28) that this event, with the loss of \$15,000 invested, was a blow to his church. He later explained that many of his church members were also investors in the bridge, and now, with the hard times in Kansas, they were financially embarrassed.

tinued to serve several small communities, in addition to his principal church at Topeka. In the summer of 1859 he described this as follows:

In a neighborhood south of me to whose inhabitants I have been in the habit of preaching on a week day evening; a small house has been procured, a day school & Sabbath School started, & I am to preach there on the afternoon of each alternate Sabbath.

Across the township 7 or more miles from Topeka, Bro. Copeland of Bloomington has lately organized a small church to which I am to minister as often as is possible. Such opportunities are constantly occurring & the pressing demand for labor is being more & more keenly felt. Shawnee [county] is better supplied than almost any other in the territory; yet as far as your society is concerned, Bro. Brownlee & myself have its 550 & odd square miles all to ourselves. . . .⁸¹

For a frontier preacher and his congregation, no difficulty was more urgent than that of obtaining a suitable house of worship. Before Bodwell arrived in Kansas the little group of settlers at Topeka had pledged a small sum for a church home, and in the summer of 1856 they obtained the needed ground as a gift from the Topeka town company. When Bodwell arrived in October, he intended to make a "determined effort" to begin the initial work of construction before the following spring, but these anticipations proved premature.⁸² Early in December the congregation voted to build a house of worship, named a building committee, and subscribed some \$700—a sum far short of the amount actually needed.⁸³ In order to obtain financial assistance for his church, Bodwell investigated both the church erection fund of the Congregational church and the American Congregational Union, and when on his Eastern trip in the summer of 1857, he attempted to obtain aid from these and other sources, but with little success.⁸⁴ He also wrote a circular letter appealing for help in the construction of a church building, which appears to have been published in *The*

81. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., June 11, 1859. Judging by the infrequency of comments of this nature, Bodwell spent most of his time in the service of his Topeka church, and in the cause of Congregationalism throughout Kansas. However, he came to believe that his rightful destiny was that of an exploring missionary, serving many small communities. Jonathan Copeland served Bloomington and Kanwaka, and James Brownlee, Burlingame (previously Council City), according to a statistical table of October 8, 1858.

82. Bodwell to Badger, October 21, 1856.

83. McVicar's sketch in the Topeka *State Record*, cited above; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 548; Bodwell's first quarterly report, January 10, 1857. Due to the high cost of materials, labor, etc., about \$5,000 was needed for a suitable building. Bodwell also obtained a small subscription for a building at Kansapolis.

84. For an explanation of the work of the church erection fund of the Congregational church, and the American Congregational Union, see Footnote 186 and adjacent text. Some small amounts appear to have been given to Bodwell, but in September he wrote that they were obliged to depend almost entirely upon the members of the church, some of whom had offered to greatly increase their subscriptions. The "Record Book" of Bodwell's church gave more weight to the "funds collected by our Pastor during the last Summer at the East," which were being used to erect a "commodious & substantial House of worship."

Home Missionary, of New York, the monthly magazine of the American Home Missionary Society.⁸⁵

Bodwell's failure to obtain substantial aid forced the burden of construction upon his own congregation. The chairman of the board of trustees wrote: "We do not feel able to pay any portion of the ministers salary, for we are doing to the utmost of our ability to build a church."⁸⁶ Late in the summer of 1857, when Bodwell returned from his vacation, he found the work of construction already under way, with the hope of enclosing the structure before the arrival of winter.⁸⁷ Although such work was not pleasant, Bodwell believed he would be obliged to oversee the work of church erection. Such was the duty of a Home Missionary, and taught one "the force & character of the temptations to which his people are exposed, in doing the business of their worldly callings."⁸⁸ He intended to use a portion of his quarterly salary of \$125 to forward erection of the church. During the fall of 1857 Bodwell was kept extremely busy with this work. The building was to be of stone, 42 x 70 feet, requiring a large amount of material, the procuring of which was no easy task in a new country. Bodwell was forced to be much in the saddle, to round up the workmen and materials needed to carry on the project, and frequently he was obliged to lend a hand in the roughest of work, all in addition to his regular ministerial duties. This phase of his career exhibits in the highest degree his native generosity, and willingness to subordinate self in a great cause.⁸⁹ His description gives a vivid picture of these activities:

85. The primary object of this publication was to aid Presbyterian and Congregational missions in the West. Bodwell's circular letter was written as of March, 1857, and included the following appeal: "*Great* things are not asked, nor assistance to do aught but *necessary* things. Our plan, our hope—the *most* we expect to accomplish this year, is the rearing and enclosing of a small church, of which we may partition off a portion to use as a sort of lecture room until able to finish for ourselves."

86. Letter of H. W. Farnsworth to Milton Badger, July 12, 1857, requesting the renewal of Bodwell's appointment. The number of communicants was then 28, and the average attendance about a hundred. "We are suffering all the evils of other new countries, besides many peculiar to this. The result is that worldli-mindedness has too much influence over us all."—*Ibid.*, July 5, 1857.

87. In a report to the Missionary Society of February, 1859, Bodwell stated that the work of construction "was begun during my absence & contrary to my wish & recommendation. But my people was right & I wrong. . . . my plan was a lecture room 25 x 40."

88. Bodwell to Badger, September 24, 1857. During the summer of that year, while Bodwell was in the East, his pulpit was occupied by the Rev. J. Copeland. About one fourth of the resident members left Topeka during this season, but many new ones arrived. Bodwell saw "no cause for discouragement, but many things to comfort & give hope," and believed that they had at least "made even a *little* progress against such a torrent of excitement, & now of worldliness," even though that outwardly their progress does not appear so great.

Concerning "worldliness," the *Minutes of the General Association* of April, 1857, remarked: "The spirit of contention has given way to the spirit of speculation."

89. A border preacher unwilling to "work for his keep" probably would have been regarded by most frontiersmen as a "dude," who did not merit their respect. For an example similar to that of Bodwell, see Thomas A. McNeal, *When Kansas Was Young* (New York, 1922), pp. 129-132. When the occasion arose, Bodwell was also generous in matters of salary, as the following letter to Milton Badger indicates (February 4, 1858): "I would here say once for all that while 'our treasury' is to any extent straitened, tho. I may at the regular & proper time state my claims—I do not wish that claim to stand in the way of the full payment of any brother *with a family* whom the committee knows is in want."

I was to look for & hire hands, to note their labor & pay their wages, to see that material of the kind needed & in sufficient quantities was on the ground when wanted. It was necessary for me to do a contractors work, & at the same time attend to such of my ministerial duties as could not be put off. Take, as a specimen, one day of Home Missionary labor. . . .

Saddled my horse & rode four miles before breakfast, to procure a workman whose presence was necessary by the usual hour for work. Next, five miles more, to visit a neighbor minister who was very ill. Thence, three miles, to order at one place some lime, at another to find a man to load it, & at a third to order stone from the quarry. Back to the church, two miles; thence to another quarry, & helped roll on a load of stone. From there (while the tram was on the way to the building & back,) I walked a mile to call upon a church member lying very ill; back to the quarry & helped load more stone & finally, a four mile ride home. On another day, was stopped in the midst of a similar round of duties, to attend a funeral three or four miles away across the river, a journey necessarily made on foot, crossing the Kansas river & Soldier creek, by ferrying four times. Scarcity of laborers & of means to pay them, lays upon him who would see any such work go on, the necessity of donning his working suit, & putting his own hands to the work.⁹⁰

The directions of your commission make no suggestions regarding the propriety of your laborers turning his attention to quarrying stone, or loading them, or driving teams, or tending the mason; but unless my circumstances are peculiar or I have mistaken my duty, the willingness & ability to do these things are sometimes necessary. It often becomes a matter of serious inquiry, how much may or should the minister do under such circumstances. Should he go perhaps for months, almost wholly absenting himself from his study & supplying some ones "lack of service" by doing the work of a day laborer?⁹¹

Bodwell believed he had been right in following the latter course, and continuing the work of construction until the cold and growing lack of laborers made it advisable to stop, even though the walls were unfinished. The year 1858 saw a deepening of the depression in Kansas, which forced Bodwell to adopt a new technique, in his campaign for funds. He wrote:

We were far from having the amount necessary to complete, or even to warrant our resuming work until after the beginning of April. Then, even the "hard times" worked in our favor. For want of money, building could not go on & property holders were compelled to regret that the incoming emigrants who were passing us should look upon us at a stand still. Thinking this might be used to advantage I set out. Workmen, out of employ for want of money to pay them, were ready to take property in the town, rather than

90. By this time the panic of 1857 was beginning to make itself felt in Kansas. Many infant communities were scarcely under way—not a few had only been established that year, when the deadening hand of depression was placed upon them.

91. Bodwell to Badger, December 14, 1857. In his article upon Congregationalism in Kansas (*op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9), Richard Cordley includes a vivid sketch of Bodwell's activities: "He was collector and treasurer, architect, 'boss carpenter,' head mason, and laborer; in the woods cutting and hauling timber, in the quarry getting out stone, at the kiln hauling lime, at the building superintending the work, around the parish collecting subscriptions, at the East raising funds . . . ; he could, without equivocation, subscribe to the condition of the Home Missionary application, 'that he had no employment save that of the ministry,' for all these toils pointed to one end—the building up of the church. Twice he saw the walls of the church blown down, and twice he rallied his people to rebuild them."

be idle. . . . I procured property, which our workmen take at about \$1,200 —& the walls are under contract.⁹²

It was hoped to have the building ready for use during the following winter, but by late fall a lack of means and the lateness of the season induced the builders to postpone further work.⁹³ The walls were then completed, ready for the roof, for which the congregation accorded Bodwell chief credit.⁹⁴ By the following spring all timber needed for the roof had been given, some of it sawed, and the roads were ready for hauling the rest, when on Sunday evening, June 19, 1859, a violent windstorm struck Topeka. One half of the rear wall, and a large part of the side walls were reduced to a mass of rubbish. "Not less than fifty cords of stone, put up with weeks of toil at a cost of fully one thousand dollars, lie heaped upon the ground, nearly as valueless as two years since."⁹⁵ A crisis had already arisen in Bodwell's church, because of his advocacy of the plan to move the proposed Congregational college from Topeka to Lawrence, and the disaster of the elements heaped fuel upon the flames. Bodwell presented his resignation,⁹⁶ but the dispute was finally settled, and the church issued a unanimous call for his return.⁹⁷ It also voted to "repair and enclose the Church Building already commenced," and to solicit subscriptions to finance the undertaking.⁹⁸ Bodwell withdrew his resignation,⁹⁹ and wrote the Missionary Society as follows:

92. Quarterly report of Bodwell to the A. H. M. S., June 25, 1858. He remarked that a subscriber of ten dollars now gave them, in lieu of cash, a lot worth \$150. It appears that his letters to the society are a trifle too rosy. Perhaps he was guilty of the common practice of "strewing flowers in his own pathway," in order to convince his employers that he was "delivering the goods." Despite the hard times, he asked permission of the society to raise \$200 among his people, and with \$400 from the society his salary would total \$600.

93. Memorial discourse of Peter McVicar, in Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

94. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., December 30, 1858; H. W. Farnsworth to Milton Badger, September 3, 1858. Farnsworth wrote on behalf of the congregation: "Mr. Bodwell's removal from this to any other sphere of labor would be regarded, not only by our denomination, but by all this community with extreme regret." As proof of their gratitude, they offered to pay \$100 of his salary, leaving the balance (\$400) for the society.

95. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., June 22, 1859. Despite the disaster, he asked for the prayers of their friends, in the hope of final success. The following comes from "Sketches of Kansas Travel," in *The Congregational Record* of October, 1859 (v. I, No. IV), p. 62: "Topeka shows signs both of vigor and decay. It looks like a tree that had stopped growing and sprouted again. . . . The explanation is, that they have attempted to push the town beyond the demands of its business, and have been nipped by the hard times. . . . I have rarely looked upon a sadder sight than the Cong. Church, now a complete mass of ruins. The front wall stands, showing what the building would have been. . . . The rear and side walls are almost entirely demolished, and the whole is said to be so impaired that it will not be safe to use any part of the walls for a future building."

96. He had for some time thought of a change, but the crisis over the college was the primary cause of his resignation. The evening after he gave his church this notice, the storm struck Topeka.

97. "Church Record Book," entry of August 15, 1859.

98. *Ibid.*, entry of August 5.

99. Bodwell gave his consent September 10, 1859, which the Topeka *Tribune* announced a week later, adding that they were glad, "as the Rev. Mr. Bodwell is a fluent speaker and a good man." Despite the troubles at Topeka, Bodwell did not like to leave his congregation in the lurch, "and lose ground obtained at such an outlay of strength & means."—Letter of August 4 to the society.

A house of worship the result of much labor & liberality is laid in ruins; & hardly has the news reached *you*, ere over \$1000 are pledged to do again the work. The men who have given one, three, five hundred dollars each come forward to do the same again, not, mind you, from their over-flowing stores, but from moderate means, when the gift equals perhaps in no case less than ½ the income.¹⁰⁰

Bodwell succeeded in raising over a thousand dollars for the purpose of rebuilding, but this was considerably less than what was needed, even though the American Congregational Union helped them with a small sum. The contract was concluded with the provision that the walls were to be finished by July 10, 1860,¹⁰¹ but again nature intervened. On June 1 a windstorm destroyed the south wall, but despite this discouragement, the work of rebuilding quickly followed.¹⁰² The third attempt was successful, and January 1, 1861, the first sermon was delivered in the new structure, then enclosed for the first time, although provided with only a rough coat of plaster and temporary seats. The building was not formally dedicated until January 3, 1864, when Lewis Bodwell, although no longer pastor, preached a special sermon commemorating the event.¹⁰³ During the entire period of his first pastorate in Topeka, he thus served a congregation that had no permanent church home. During the first months of his pastorate the Congregationalists, along with four other denominations, used Constitution Hall.¹⁰⁴ By the beginning of 1857 more capacious quarters had been obtained in Union Hall,¹⁰⁵ and by the fall of that year a room was procured in the two-story brick school house recently completed by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. This room would accommodate scarcely a hundred persons, but it was comfortable and pleasant, and was used every other Sunday by the Congregationalists, who alternated with the Methodists and Baptists.¹⁰⁶ By the summer

100. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., September 14, 1859, at the end of his third year in Kansas. His comments again sound very optimistic in tone.

101. Memorial discourse of Peter McVicar, Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*; Bodwell's fourth annual report, February 28, 1860 (covering only a half year). He again praised his congregation for their help—they had raised at least 800 to 1,000 dollars a year, for all purposes.

102. Bodwell to Badger, June 11, 1860.

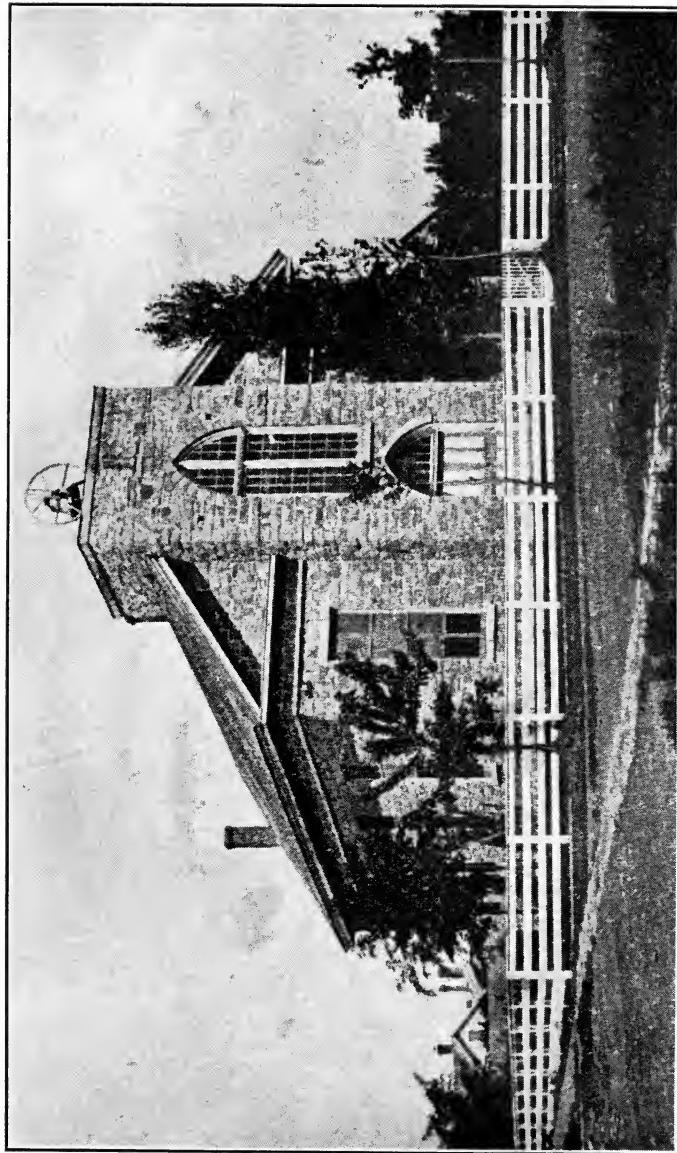
103. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 548. In the spring of 1861 the building was used by the first state legislature of Kansas. In 1880 a new edifice was constructed, which is still in use. Peter McVicar served as pastor from 1860 to 1866, when Bodwell began a second term of three years.

In his special dedicatory sermon, Bodwell used the following text: "Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."—Psalms, 127:1.

104. Bodwell to Badger, October 21, 1856.

105. Bodwell to Badger, January 10, 1857: "We have lately commenced occupying a new, larger and much more pleasant room than before." From the accounts of McVicar and Sherman Bodwell (the latter in the "Church Record Book"), it is clear that this was Union Hall.

106. Bodwell to Badger, December 14, 1857. This structure, the first school building in Topeka, was erected by Abner Doane, with Emigrant Aid funds. That organization hoped to promote New England concepts of religion and education in the new territory, but it charged the city rent for the use of the building, until the hard times made collections virtually impossible.



THE FIRST CHURCH BUILDING IN TOPEKA

This building was located on the northwest corner of Seventh and Harrison streets. The foundation was laid in 1855 but parts of the walls were blown down in 1859 and 1860 and it was not until January, 1861, that it was ready for occupancy. During the spring of 1861 some of the early laws of Kansas were passed here when the first House of Representatives occupied the building, having been driven from its hall on Kansas avenue by a leaky roof. It stood until 1880 when the present Congregational church was built on the site.

of 1858 the increased number of public halls in Topeka left the Congregationalists very nearly in entire possession of this school room, in which Bodwell preached three times every Sabbath on three Sundays of the month.¹⁰⁷ In the spring of 1859 a fourth change was made, when Bodwell's congregation began the use of Museum Hall, which would comfortably seat 250 to 300 persons.¹⁰⁸ Despite the hard times and repeated attacks by the elements, the disadvantages of occupying buildings also used by others acted as a constant urge for the Congregationalists to erect a church edifice of their own.¹⁰⁹ Bodwell made a courageous and determined fight to solve this problem, and may justly be regarded as the chief builder of the structure.

As a frontier preacher Lewis Bodwell found it a difficult matter to minister adequately to his flock, and the people of his community. Sickness, hunger, and suffering of various kinds existed in aggravated forms, and often demanded immediate attention. Among his first visits as a pastor were calls upon sick members of his church, or friends—illness due to exposure caused by living in rude dwellings, to prevailing ignorance concerning the real cause of the ague (chills and fever), to the lack of medical attention, and to other causes that were magnified by the rough ways of life.¹¹⁰ Death was a frequent visitor, and demanded the immediate presence of the pastor—soon after his arrival at Topeka, Bodwell wrote that five young people had died within a week. In a few months typhoid (probably the ague) afflicted twenty-five persons, most of whom were young, with a total of eight deaths. Because he was free of family worries, Bodwell believed it his particular duty to help the afflicted. In some cases this demanded his attention as

107. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., June 25, 1858. In his report of February, 1859, he found considerable fault with these quarters, asserting that "many must stand up—others in numbers go away—and a much larger number remain away rather than stand or take the seats of others."

108. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., June 11, 1859. He wrote that on the first day's occupancy his audience was over 200: "In outward things we make progress." The hall was upstairs in the Ritchie block, a three-story building erected in 1858. Early in 1860, during the revival in Topeka, Bodwell's congregation was obliged to return to the school room.

109. September 28, 1858, Bodwell wrote that the Baptists, who also used the school building, so completely disregarded their appointments that the Congregationalists were greatly inconvenienced.

110. In "Sixty Days Home Missionary Work," under entry of November 2, 1856, Bodwell wrote that with stormy weather, he sat up with the Foxes, late companions on the trip to Kansas, whose children were very ill: "In a small house, with no partitions but blankets, no floors but loose boards, no shield from the wind but thin clapboard walls, a room which no fire can warm, is the family of eight and their watchers."

The form of malaria called "chills and fever" was then the plague of new communities. Since in Kansas most of the timber was found along the streams, the settlers tended to locate in these areas, where mosquitoes abounded, and where malarial afflictions were most likely to occur. Bodwell frequently alluded to this ailment.

much as two or three nights in a week.¹¹¹ In the fall of 1856 he wrote: "Reports from various parts of the territory tell of family after family living only on grated or parched corn. . . ." Many families did not have enough well to take care of the sick, or even to furnish water for them.¹¹² Bodwell did what he could to help those in need, and solicited aid from friends of a benevolent disposition. Late in 1856 friends in Cazenovia, N. Y., and Judge Dexter of Michigan gave him clothing and money to relieve the suffering. Bodwell made gifts to families with small children, loans to young men, and otherwise aided persons in distress.¹¹³ The suffering consequent upon the political disorders, with the theft or destruction of property and the inability to raise normal crops, all tended to aggravate the problem. Although no longer pastor of the Topeka church, Bodwell also played an active part in relieving the distress of 1860-1861, when a severe drought brought general suffering and misery.¹¹⁴

The frontier preacher of Bodwell's day usually regarded it a particular duty to awaken his congregation to the terribleness of sin, and its dire consequences. As a preacher Bodwell was not an extremist, since he regarded it a certainty that Satan would be overcome, in the course of time, but he appears to have believed in depicting the results of sin in eloquent terms. The Lord was "a Consuming Fire" for all sin," and he regarded it his duty to properly warn his flock.¹¹⁵ In almost every case, however, he concluded that the chief cause of sin and waywardness among his people was the disorder and political evil through which Kansas was passing. Perhaps this was one reason why he and his colleagues experienced so much trouble in making conversions.¹¹⁶

^{111.} First quarterly report, January 10, 1857. Bodwell believed that the sickness in the fall of 1856 was due in part to the long overland marches, and the anxieties and exposures of the settlers. For a good description of the "chills and fever," see Mrs. Miriam D. Colt, *Went to Kansas* (Watertown, 1862), p. 88 *et seq.* The vegetarian colony that settled on the Neosho was much afflicted with malaria. In 1858 Bodwell wrote that that locality was again hard hit with this ailment (letter of September 28).

^{112.} Bodwell to Badger, October 21, 1856, and to John Hobbie, October 17, 1856, "Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 3, 4. The testimony taken by the Hyatt committee in the fall of that year indicates that much of the suffering was of the usual frontier nature, little connected with the border wars. The drought of that year was a factor that has not been sufficiently stressed.

^{113.} Bodwell gives a detailed account in his letter to Messrs. A. B. Hyde, R. W. R. Freeman, and John Hobbie, *ibid.*, pp. 8, 9. With \$166 in cash he helped some 14 persons or families, and some half dozen more with clothing sent from the East.

^{114.} Bodwell to "Dear Brother Hobbie," September 21 and October 30, 1860, in *ibid.*, p. 12. As in 1857, he again obtained help from Cazenovia, N. Y., the home of his friend Hobbie. He was then serving on the territorial relief committee, of which S. C. Pomeroy was president. Bodwell's wide travels as an itinerant preacher brought him into close contact with the suffering and privation.

^{115.} From "Half Truths in Religion," a sermon delivered by Bodwell while chaplain of the Clifton Springs Sanitarium, probably in 1869.

^{116.} Note his comment, quoted above, that "The minister can scarcely do more than keep people reminded of duty. . . ." Free-State opinion quite generally held this view, blaming the administration at Washington for most of the evils that beset them.

Late in 1857 Bodwell wrote that he had had "the largest, most attentive & solemn audiences I have ever had in the Territory," composed almost wholly of young people, or those not yet arrived at middle age. His themes were "The characteristics of a religion pure & undefiled," and "The *impossibility* of being neutral," or "The Sinner a *destroyer* of good." He wrote that "Fixed & earnest attention; thoughtful & solemn faces, & tearful eyes; told me that I had at least *hearers* of the word." He left in a sad frame of mind, as he could not meet them again for two weeks, while in the meantime "the story of some new wrong, of fraud or violence, may sweep over the mind of every person in this community; & all—old & young, men & maidens be borne away by the current of excitement; & fierce and bitter feelings. . . ."¹¹⁷ The few sermons of Bodwell that have come down to us are replete with symbolical allusions,¹¹⁸ and since he had had no college training, it is possible that he resorted to prepared sermons or outlines, to supply his own deficiency. It seems more probable, however, that he depended chiefly upon habits of diligent study and industry, since this more adequately explains his reputation as a fluent speaker. With the passage of time his audiences grew in size, and he was increasingly in demand for sermons, but he was obliged to face certain difficulties common to all preachers on the frontier. One of the most serious difficulties Bodwell never admitted as applying to *his* people—the doubtful character of many of the emigrants to Kansas—he nevertheless did admit in the abstract, when he quoted the words of a neighbor minister: "Outside of my church & of the others formed here, I do not know of *one* young man who is not addicted to gaming, profanity, intemperance or incestuousness, in some cases to two, three, or *all* of these vices," which was "a sad story & a fearful account."¹¹⁹

117. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., December 14, 1857. In March, 1858, he wrote: "Constant excitement, & irritation; arising from constant misrepresentation & slander, with which our rulers seek to justify their constant injustice & oppression; produces a plentious crop of tares. 'Wickedness in high places' makes itself felt now as ever. 'The head is sick, the heart faint,' & the body diseased. 'The wicked here rule, & the people mourn.'"

118. His sermon at the dedication of the First Congregational Church of Topeka, January 3, 1864, is a good example of this symbolism, but was appropriate for the occasion. "Building with God, and upon His word, a house whose corner stones are justice, mercy, truth and love; the dwellers therein need not fear 'though the kingdoms be moved.'" Other sermons that have been preserved are: "A Discourse preached at the Funeral of Mrs. H. D. Rice," February 13, 1859; "A Paraclete"; and "Half Truths in Religion." Bodwell often included appropriate poems in his sermons. These discourses are of the intellectual type, and avoid the ranting and emotional appeals so common in the early days.

119. Bodwell to Badger, December 14, 1857. The Reverend Lum described the situation even better, in a letter to the Missionary Society, December 6, 1854 (quoted by Goodykoontz, *op. cit.*, p. 296): "Many there are who come here with a noble purpose—they are willing to be martyrs in the cause of Religion & Liberty & yet I am compelled to think that the number of such is small in comparison to those who have some selfish or mercenary end to gain. I must confess that my mind has changed on this subject & I do not think as highly of the aggregate emigration as at first. I find many, perhaps a majority, without any settled moral principle as a basis of action & when come outside the restraints of eastern society, they act out the native depravity of the human heart. . . ."

Among all these difficulties, no matter was more serious than that of disregard for or desecration of the Sabbath. Although Bodwell seldom failed to have a respectable audience, after two years in Kansas he admitted: "None of our gatherings . . . ever embrace one half of those who living within a convenient distance, would in their former homes have been in attendance."¹²⁰ When in 1860 he began to serve widely scattered communities, as an itinerant preacher, he wrote: "It will with all care be very difficult to find any camp which regularly observes the Sabbath in its journey across the plains. The Sabbath is yet hardly a western institution."¹²¹ This trouble was well described in an article in *The Congregational Record*, entitled "Worship Versus Entertainment":

There is undoubtedly a growing tendency in our communities to underrate worship, as such. Our Sabbath assemblies are not regarded distinctively as worshipping assemblies, but as congregations assembled to hear preaching. The services are judged, not by their power to build up Christian character, but by their power to entertain. . . . Church service breaks up the monotony, and helps the hours along. . . . A damp day empties our churches. Such a day would not materially affect business, or a meeting for pleasure or for politics. . . . So do hot days, and so do cold days. Only a combination of favoring circumstances, gives us full churches on the Lord's day, if the preacher is not as eloquent as some others. . . . There are many bellwethers in our flocks, who have been accustomed in the East to hear the celebrities of the cities. . . . A large number of these disciples of eastern prophets stay away from church entirely when they come among us. . . . They feel too far advanced in divine knowledge to endure a plain home missionary. . . . All this arises from a false estimate of Sabbath services. They are looked upon as entertainments, and not as seasons of worship.¹²²

Closely akin to the problem of Sabbath desecration, was that of disregard for church membership. It appears that the expectation to "move on" in the near future induced many to refrain from identifying themselves very closely with any church,¹²³ while others seemed to be glad of the chance to divest themselves of the cloak of

120. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., September 28, 1858.

121. Bodwell to Badger, June 11, 1860. *The Minutes of the General Association of Kansas*, October 8, 1858 (*Congregational Record*, v. I, No. 1), p. 4, contain the following resolution: "That we view with deep regret the prevalence of Sabbath desecration amongst us, and deem it the duty of every Christian to use his utmost influence, by example as well as precept, to create a correct public sentiment in regard to the Sabbath and its duties." A Sabbath convention of the evangelical churches was recommended, and Bodwell was placed on the committee, but the meeting never materialized.

122. Issue of January, 1860 (v. II, No. 1), pp. 5, 6.

123. This was discussed in the *Record* of April, 1860 (v. II, No. 2), pp. 23-25, under the heading "Homelessness as a Hindrance to the Gospel": "On this western field, the gospel meets some peculiar obstacles incident to the state of society. Of these peculiar hindrances, few are more discouraging than the unsettled character of our population. The western phrase, 'I do not live, but only stay,' is of almost universal application. The word 'home' might be entirely stricken from our vocabulary. . . . It is quite probable that one-half of the present population of Kansas will spend their days here—while at the same time, there are very few who have positively made up their minds to make this their home. . . . It is all an experiment. . . ."

religion, which had previously retarded their freedom. The *Record* described this as follows:

Few facts, in connection with the settlement of this new country, are more sad than the wreck of Christian hopes occasioned by the passage from East to West. Members are found in every community who once stood fair in the church of God, but have here denied their professions, or, what amounts to the same thing, have neglected to reiterate those professions in their new home. With some this is mere neglect—with others it is intentional. Some seem glad of the opportunity, which a change of residence affords, to shake off the restraints of religious professions. . . . But there are others who are *real Christians*, who still neglect to reiterate their professions. . . .¹²⁴

Among the many nonmembers who attended church services were a considerable number of other denominations, so that the evil of nonmembership was at least partly compensated by a greater freedom from sectarianism, and a broader outlook upon things religious.¹²⁵ Lewis Bodwell frequently referred to the considerable number who attended his church, who had previously belonged to other denominations, indicating that frontier society was in a state of decided flux. However, he wondered a great deal about his inability to make conversions, and in his statistical report of March, 1858, he wrote: "Looking backward from today, we have doubled our numbers, & I trust have in no respect gone backward." Nevertheless, he regretted that he could not "remove from sight or mind those sad *blanks* in my report," and wondered at the cause of "eighteen months of missionary labor, & not one known case of conversion or one new professor of religion," for all of which he could not "give a *good and sufficient* reason." As was characteristic of him, Bodwell blamed the political situation as the cause of this state of affairs.¹²⁶ That he was not responsible for a condition that existed throughout Kansas, was indicated by the general association in its report for 1857: "No revivals of religion have yet been enjoyed, and but a solitary instance of conversion reported. Our work

124. Issue of April, 1859 (v. I, No. 2), pp. 21-23. The writer continued: "The ties that bind them to the 'old church at home' are doubtless strong. . . . The church here may not be like the old church you left, neither is your house, nor the society in which you mingle. . . . You do not live out of doors because your house is not as good as your Eastern home. . . . If you cannot endure these privations . . . you are not fit for the West. . . . Kansas is full of professors of religion from the East, but, instead of shining out of themselves, we need to go around and hunt them out with a torch."

125. A factor not to be lost sight of in this matter was the lack of religious opportunities in many localities on the border. Undoubtedly many frontiersmen were irreligious from no fault of their own, but because there was no church to attend. Bodwell came to realize the importance of this point, and urged it as a justification of itinerant preachers. Other factors working toward the same end were the pre-occupation of the settlers with the urgent business of getting started, and the arrival of an avalanche of new settlers in 1857. The absolute necessities of food and shelter were a much greater problem in a new country.

126. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., March, 1858 (no day given): "I can reckon up at least fifteen conventions, mass meetings, legislatures &c &c which many of my people have attended within three or four months. . . . Make your only Government a military despotism; put in all of its offices, the very men whom the people most hate . . . & you see again our state. Here as elsewhere no extra aggravations are needed to make or prove the heart 'deceitful & desperately wicked.'"

is more that of laying foundations. . . .¹²⁷ Despite the transient nature of the population, Bodwell was more successful in the matter of transfers, and before the close of his pastorate, he achieved success in adding new converts to his church. From only three members at the time of organization, by 1858 his church numbered thirty-three, and before the close of his term in 1860 this total had almost doubled, by virtue of the new members who joined during the revival in Topeka of 1859-1860.¹²⁸

The collapse of the speculative boom and the arrival of "hard times" was accompanied by a renewed interest in things religious, which Bodwell noticed during 1858.¹²⁹ By early 1859 he reported: "The interest in religious things increases. I have meetings for preaching &c 2 to 4 evenings in each week at various points well attended."¹³⁰ By the close of that year he wrote: "Interest in all religious things, as Sunday services & Sunday schools, & prayer meetings has continued to increase. Congregations are two or three fold greater than a year since. . . ."¹³¹ By early 1860 Bodwell was happy to report a great outpouring of the religious spirit in Topeka. He wrote at length to the Missionary Society, describing the revival that followed soon after his decision to remain in the community:

The darkest year of my ministerial work in Kansas has had the brightest close. . . . Tho. in the main contrary to my inclinations:—the decision once made, I went with a sad heart to the work of repairing the breaches in a disturbed church & an almost ruined house of worship. . . . In December I began a series of sermons on "The Law" as found in Ex. XX preaching three Sabbath evenings to the largest audiences I have ever had. What are usually considered the most fearful & unpalatable truths; were heard with fixed solemn & even tearful attention. . . .

I need not state at length how sectarian selfishness sought to forestall action: withdrew from coöperation, wouldn't work with Bro. B: secured the use of the only capacious Hall (by right ours 4 to 1): began a series of meetings which by shouting, screaming, & *dancing!* were made the point of attraction

127. Appendix No. II to *Minutes of the General Association*, April 25-27, 1857, p. 15, entitled "Narrative of the State of Religion." The *Minutes* of the meeting of October, 1858, reported similarly: "There are no revivals to record, though most of the churches report an increase of spirituality among Christians, and an increased attention to religious things in the various communities."

128. Statistical table of October 8, 1858, in *Congregational Record* (v. I, No. 1), p. 9.

129. The apparent victory of the cause of freedom probably caused many people to believe that right was sure to win, in the long run. Such a conviction would encourage many of religious tendencies, like Bodwell, who previously had deplored the "rule of evil."

130. Report to A. H. M. S., February 14, 1859. Attendance at prayer meetings had more than doubled. In his report at the end of his third year in Kansas (September 14, 1859), he wrote: "The time was, not many months since when 5 to 8 was 'a goodly number' at the union prayer meeting & if for any cause I was away, or for any reason failed to light & warm the room the meeting usually & gradually died out." Now when he returned after an absence, he found "the meetings alive, with 12 to 20 or 25 in attendance. Sabbath congregations then 50 to 100 are now under favorable circumstances, 200 to 250."

131. Quarterly report to A. H. M. S., December, 1859.

to scores who "went for fun." When the matter was fairly under way & control; I was asked to assist. Refused to endorse such "shows" as religion, & would not preach where I could be allowed no control of the after doings. Chose to visit and pray from house to house, & when the proper time seemed to come commenced & for a week carried on a Union prayer meeting; & afterwards preaching each evening in connection with Bro. Steel (O. S. Pres) & Bro. Hutchinson (Bap).¹³² We occupied the school room our former place of worship & one far too small to accommodate us in our work. . . . to the best of our powers we have worked to counteract fanaticism & conquer sin. The attention has been very general. . . . Indeed in my experience, I have never known a community more thoroughly aroused. . . .

As to results, we can as yet hardly come at them; but thus far one young man has joined the O. S. Ch'h; 4 the Bap; 10 or 12 the Epis; & 10 the Cong'l; while 12 more have already made application for examination in view of connection with the latter. . . . Of the whole we hope for the true conversion of not less than 10 heads of families. . . . rejoicing but humble we say "What hath God wrought"!¹³³

By the pooling of their efforts, the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches seem to have given added impetus to the revival. From Bodwell's description, it appears that he opposed the "muscular type" of Christianity and fanaticism of all sorts, in the conducting of religious services of this nature.¹³⁴ The revival was generally praised by the people of Topeka. The Topeka Tribune reported that each of the three meeting places attracted "respectable and seemingly eager congregations," and in consequence "quite a large number of those who have previously wandered in sin, have 'come out from the world,' and given their names to the Church militant and their souls to God."¹³⁵ In his report to the Home Missionary Society, Bodwell showed a pardonable pride in re-

132. O. S. Pres.—Old School Presbyterian. The First Presbyterian Church of Topeka was organized December 19, 1859, and steps toward incorporation were taken in the following February. John A. Steele was then the pastor. In June, 1859, C. C. Hutchinson became the pastor of the First Baptist Church.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 548, 549.

133. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., February 28, 1860. For seven weeks there had been from one to three meetings each night in Topeka, with an attendance at each of 60, 100, and 200 persons. The Methodists claimed 22 on probation, some "reclaimed," and some by letter. All the meetings were now closed, except the Congregational, and being "exhausted by preaching, &c &c," they had been holding prayer meetings for ten days, with a growing interest. "None but God could have done what has been done in the face of such obstacles. . . . To Him & Him alone be glory."

"From whatever part of our Territory I hear; the story is one of readiness—a harvest waiting to be gathered, but the laborers are very few."

Under the heading "Religious Intelligence," *The Congregational Record* of April, 1860, described the revival. The Methodist and Episcopal services were held separately, and the Reverend Callaway of the latter church held nightly meetings, in which he demanded of sinners: "Ye must be born again."

134. The writer has seen no explanation of the "sectarian selfishness" to which Bodwell refers. Perhaps this comment is directed at the Methodists and Episcopalians, who did not join the union meeting.

135. Topeka Tribune, February 25, 1860. "We venture the opinion that a proportionately larger number of the citizens of Topeka are a church-going people and christians, than those of any other town or city in Kansas." Langrish's dramatic troupe visited Topeka during this time, and while two church meetings were crowded, not over forty persons attended the theater. In the issue of June 23, 1860, the Tribune remarked concerning the many church goers in the city: "Christians—we take it—certainly must be waxing very numerous, but dress so richly and fashionably, and extravagantly, that poor sinners are ashamed to go and sit down by their side."

porting that he had achieved final victory in the winning of converts for his church.¹³⁶

During the season of religious revival in Topeka, a number of young men took part in the temperance movement in that community, and signed the pledge of abstinence.¹³⁷ This cause was dear to the heart of Lewis Bodwell, who had labored in its behalf since coming to Kansas. In this attitude he had the support of his congregation, and also of the constitution and standing rules of his church, which enjoined abstinence upon all members.¹³⁸ In his first quarterly report to the Missionary Society, Bodwell wrote that the regulations of the town company forbade the sale of any lot for the purposes of a saloon,¹³⁹ and a temperance society was in operation, whose vigilance committee reported any place where drinks were sold. After the announcement of this fact, a standing committee (then of nine ladies)—“request that he stop his traffic, with the full understanding & assurance that if the request be not enough, there are enough of men in the Society at once & effectually [to] enforce a stoppage of the crime.” Bodwell remarked that this method had been effective in stopping the sale of liquor, and ending grog shops and bar rooms.¹⁴⁰

The prohibition society of pioneer Topeka was at the start a mutual self-help organization of the settlers, patterned after the claim clubs, and had no basis in the law.¹⁴¹ Early in 1856 it was organized as “The Temperance Union,” and at the first annual meeting in January, 1857, it elected a slate of officers, with H. W. Farnsworth of Bodwell’s church as president.¹⁴² In July of that year this organization engaged in a “liquor spilling” on an extensive

136. The statistical form attached to Bodwell’s report of February 28, 1860, listed the “No. of hopeful conversions—In all congregations probably 50; —Cong— 18.” Twenty had been added to Bodwell’s church by profession of faith, and seven by letter from other churches, thereby nearly doubling the previous membership.

137. *Topeka Tribune*, May 19, 1860. This paper wanted to know “if any of the young men who signed the pledge have broken it; or is it outsiders who so frequently make [the] night hideous by their drunken revels?”

138. Article X of the constitution made the members liable to discipline for immorality, and Article XI defined such immorality as: “Using distilled drinks, when not required as a medicine or furnishing the same to be so used by others; holding men as slaves; attending or patronizing balls, dancing schools or theaters shall be considered immoralities and members shall be liable to discipline therefor.” A member given to drink who refused to repent after being admonished of his sin, was excommunicated from the church (August 28, 1862).

139. Such regulations seldom had the force of law, however, unless “backed up” by an aroused citizenry.

140. As early as May 14, 1855, the citizens of Topeka met and organized, to enforce the rule of the town company, “peaceably, if we can; forcibly, if we must.” On the following July 4, they destroyed a quantity of liquor, and then properly celebrated the occasion.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

141. See Clara Francis, “The Coming of Prohibition in Kansas.”—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, p. 193. The dramshop law of 1855 was a local option measure, and was in force until the act of 1859 provided a license system (which exempted towns of 1,000 or over). At the Wyandotte constitutional convention John Ritchie proposed to empower the legislature to prohibit the sale of liquor, but this was not adopted.

142. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

scale. "The affair was participated in by a large number of our most prominent and respectable citizens . . . with the entire approval of 'the ladies,'" ¹⁴³ and resulted in the destruction of the entire liquor supply of the town. Bodwell was active in the work of this organization, often speaking before it on the evils of strong drink. Thus at the meeting of January 31, 1859, he spoke at some length in favor of complete prohibition, and in opposition to the license law, which had recently become effective. He pointed out that the use of powder was permitted, but the manner of its use restricted. He thought liquor did more harm than powder, and in licensing persons to sell it, they virtually gave such people permission to commit murder, without being held responsible.¹⁴⁴

Bodwell also was active in the general association of the Congregational church of Kansas, in behalf of temperance. At the meeting of October, 1858, he offered resolutions from the business committee against intemperance, dancing, and theatrical performances, which were adopted by the convention. They believed "all unnatural stimulants for *body* or *mind* to be unwholesome, and an indulgence in them unchristian. . . ." ¹⁴⁵ This convention also named a committee of three, "to secure, if possible, the cooperation of *all the friends of temperance*, in holding a Temperance Mass Convention, at the place where the Territorial Legislature shall meet," with the objects of founding a territorial temperance society, and obtaining legislation favorable to the cause. Due to a failure of the mails, the temperance convention was not held, and at the next meeting in May, 1859, the general association repeated the call, voted to hold the proposed convention at Topeka, and placed Bodwell upon a committee of three, to make the necessary arrangements.¹⁴⁶ It appears that the meeting was again postponed, since

143. See Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, pp. 102-104. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 544, gives an account from the *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, of July 18, and also a copy of the proceedings of a meeting soon afterward, in which the citizens justified the use of force: "In the absence of law for our protection . . . petition, persuasion, remonstrance, and the ordinances of the Town Association having utterly failed to accomplish this work." Gaylord, Ritchie, and Waters from Bodwell's church were among the leading citizens who signed these resolutions. It was proposed to hold an election in Topeka, on the liquor issue, but apparently this was not done.

144. The *Kansas Tribune*, February 3, 1859. At this meeting the society adopted a constitution, and took the official title of the Topeka Temperance Union. In 1881 Bodwell wrote to the Topeka *Daily Capital* (issue of August 1), arguing against the system which permitted \$500 licenses in Topeka. He blamed it for the death of his brother, Sherman, who was killed by a drunken driver.

145. *Minutes of the General Association*, October 8-11, 1858, *Congregational Record* (v. I, No. 1), p. 6. As a leading layman, John Ritchie was very active in this work of the association, and was placed on the committee to arrange for a temperance convention. The preamble to the resolutions calling for a territorial convention asserted: "Intemperance appears to be gaining ground, and threatens to be a most formidable barrier to the progress of christianity and good morals among us."—*Ibid.*, p. 5.

146. *Minutes of the General Association*, May 26-30, 1859, *Congregational Record* (v. I, No. 3), July, 1859, p. 44. The committee, consisting of Bodwell, Cordley of Lawrence, and Dr. A. Hunting of Manhattan, issued a call for a meeting at Topeka, October 26, 1859.

it was not until April, 1861, that a state temperance society was actually organized in Kansas, along lines laid down by the general association of the Congregational church.¹⁴⁷ When it finally materialized, Bodwell was not a member, but the organization continued a work in which he had long been interested.

The rules of Bodwell's church in Topeka were very explicit in condemning as immoral such activities as dancing and attending the theater. The general association in October, 1858, adopted resolutions presented by Bodwell which condemned these amusements as "unnatural stimulants for *body or mind*."¹⁴⁸ Bodwell was not severe in his opposition to such activities, since he regarded it a certainty that all such manifestations of Satan would be overcome, in the course of time. He wrote in December, 1859:

I have spoken of our need of excitements—public amusements taking the place of war &c &c. Last year dances &c &c were very frequent with us. Our Gen'l Asso. recommended the preaching of a sermon. Mine poor as it was, was called harsh; would have enmity & more coolness. But our "theater," fitted up at an expense of some hundreds of dollars, *died* last winter. We cleared & occupy the room; & this year "The first ball of the season" was a loss to its projector. After paying for room, lights, music, &c &c,—he had (as I was told) to pay him for an abundant & costly supper, the sum of *one dollar*. Gods word does not return unto him void. The seed sown, may in quantity be small; the sowing may be poorly done but if the seed be good, God will quicken it by His power & to his glory.¹⁴⁹

Many years later, when a new Congregational church was in the progress of construction in Topeka, Bodwell brought suit to restrain the use of a temporary tabernacle upon grounds of his own, for "theatrical purposes, variety exhibitions of various kinds, and

147. Dr. A. Hunting, "Early Temperance Movements in Kansas," *Congregational Record*, July, 1866, p. 29. The Central Kansas Total Abstinence Society of Manhattan and vicinity, formed during the winter of 1855-1856, appears to have been the most important predecessor of the state organization. For this data, the writer is indebted to Martha B. Caldwell, of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

148. *Congregational Record*, (v. I, No. 1) January, 1859, p. 6. In No. 4 of this same volume (October, 1859), there is an article upon "Public Amusements" (p. 72 *et seq.*):

"We mourn over the injury resulting from them to the impenitent and the christian. . . . If God forbids conformity to the world, the world asks it, and the world's invitation is to be accepted. . . . Is it strange that, in the mazes of the dance tonight, their hands clasp his whose fingers are yet red with his fellow's blood? . . . Do they tonight listen to the soft-whispered nothings which fall from a tongue yet blistering with an oath—a tongue which but late lured one as fair to utter ruin? . . . This the christian amusement seeker must do. Profess to hate frivolity, immorality, profanity and vice, and then go himself and lead others into the society of, and the closest contact with, the frivolous, immoral, vicious and profane. . . . It [the world] will praise their warmth and geniality, their freedom from foolish fanaticism and bigotry, and behind their backs, in the bar-room and the brothel, will sneer with satanic grin at the light way in which religion sits upon them. They will lie among the rubbish which the minister must toil to clear away, when he seeks to prepare the way of the Lord. . . ."

149. Quarterly report to A. H. M. S. In 1862, when Peter McVicar was the pastor, more strenuous action was taken against wayward members. Several were "admonished" for attending balls, although it was not necessary to resort to further measures of discipline, for this offense. In 1859 for traveling on the Sabbath, while teaming, one member was required to "make an acknowledgment of the wrong as public as the offence."—"Church Record Book."

for a place of amusement," he being "conscientiously opposed."¹⁵⁰ When one reviews the various reform activities of Lewis Bodwell, he is impressed by the wide variety of the proposals. No keener comment has been made upon the whole program, than by a colleague, who later admitted the "audacity" of the changes suggested:

We did not hesitate to speak our mind in regard to anything which we thought called for our opinion. . . . We were nearly all young men. . . . We had not learned how tough this tough old world is. . . . We passed radical and vigorous resolutions on almost everything that pertained to church life and missionary work . . . dancing and theater-going; on Sabbath-breaking, intemperance and tobacco. . . .¹⁵¹

No doubt the enthusiasm of life on the frontier was a large item in this attitude of Bodwell and his colleagues—they hoped to build a new and better world upon the virgin soil of Kansas.

150. Court petition in *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, March 24, 1881. Bodwell maintained that the use of the building located on his property for such purposes tended to bring him into disfavor, and was also contrary to the terms of the agreement.

151. Richard Cordley, *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (Boston, 1903), p. 118.

(To be Concluded in the November Issue)

The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912

MARTHA B. CALDWELL

THE woman suffrage campaign of 1911 and 1912 was one of the hard-fought campaigns in Kansas history. For over fifty years Kansas women had been striving for political equality and twice, in 1867 and 1894, equal suffrage amendments had been defeated at the polls. From the beginning of statehood the women of Kansas had exercised the privilege of voting at district school elections.¹ This small concession granted by the first legislature in 1861, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Clarina I. H. Nichols,² was in advance of any other state with the exception of Kentucky whose legislature had passed a limited school suffrage law in 1838, allowing widows with children of school age to vote for trustees of school districts.³ The Kansas Equal Suffrage Association was formed in 1884, and the pressure from this organization became so strong in 1887 that the legislature offered a sop of municipal suffrage. Kansas was again the first state to make women legal voters at municipal elections.⁴

The defeat of the suffrage amendment in 1894 produced sort of a paralysis among the suffragists and no attempt was made to go to the voters again for some time. The suffrage association, however, continued its work, held annual conventions, and in 1910, its president, Mrs. Catharine Hoffman, decided that the time was right to make another appeal to the legislature. On December 9, she called her officers together and outlined a plan of action. Headquarters were set up in one of the State Historical Society's rooms at the state house with Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe as superintendent. Mrs. W. A. Johnston, Mrs. W. R. Stubbs and Mrs. C. C. Goddard were appointed a legislative committee.⁵ Governor Stubbs' friendliness toward the issue gave the women much encouragement.

On January 13 a resolution was introduced in the house providing for the submission to the people of an equal suffrage amendment to the constitution. The women worked valiantly for its passage, every legislator being asked by each member of the committee to vote for

1. *General Laws of the State of Kansas, . . . 1861*, Ch. LXXVI, Art. III, Sec. 2, p. 261.

2. A brief biographical sketch of Clarina I. H. Nichols was published in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XII, pp. 94, 95.

3. Nathan G. Goodman, "The Extension of the Franchise to Women," *The Historical Outlook*, Philadelphia, Pa., April, 1927, pp. 157, 158.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

5. Harper, Ida Husted, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage* (1922), v. VI, pp. 195, 196. This chapter on Kansas, pp. 193-206, was prepared by Lucy B. (Mrs. William A.) Johnston.

it. At all dinners, receptions and teas given for the members' wives the subject of woman suffrage was kept to the front. Mrs. Lillian Mitchner, president of the state W. C. T. U. was an invaluable helper. The result was that the amendment resolution passed both houses by a large majority and was signed by Governor Stubbs on February 9.⁶

The suffrage issue was now to be decided at the general election of 1912. The Kansas Equal Suffrage Association held its annual meeting in Representative hall at Topeka on May 16, 1911. It was of unusual importance for the women were for the third time entering upon a campaign to secure political privileges. A new constitution adapted to the needs of the campaign was adopted. Officers of the state organization and the district presidents were selected.⁷ These together with the chairmen of the several committees became the board of management.

At the meeting of the board on July 10 the president submitted a plan for the complete organization of the state. The district presidents were to effect in each county an organization similar to that of the state, and the county officers were to keep in touch with every precinct in their county. By this means the board hoped to create an interest among the women and prepare for the final campaign. Organization, education and publicity became the watchwords. Doctor Corbin, as chairman of the membership committee, presented a plan for enrolling every woman either as a member of the suffrage association, a sympathizer, or opposed to the cause. Membership included a fee of fifty cents. The board agreed that public speakers for other associations or occasions might be requested to speak for suffrage but suffrage speakers must not put any other "creed, doctrine or ism" into their speeches.⁸

The department of education with Miss Effie Graham as chairman had a three-fold plan: The distribution of literature, the endorsement of suffrage by educational bodies, and essay contests in public

6. *Laws, Kansas, 1911*, p. 597.

7. The officers were as follows: Mrs. W. A. Johnston, president; Mrs. W. R. Stubbs, first vice-president; Mrs. Cora W. Bullard, second vice-president; Miss Gertrude Reed, corresponding secretary; Miss Helen N. Eacker, recording secretary; Mrs. S. A. Thurston, treasurer, and Mrs. William A. White, auditor. The district presidents were consecutively: Mrs. Cora W. Bullard, Mrs. Genevieve H. Chalkley, Mrs. P. H. Albright, Miss L. C. Wooster, Mrs. Matie E. Kimball, Mrs. Anna C. Waite, Mrs. W. Y. Morgan and Mrs. Nannie Garrett. Later three district presidents resigned, and Mrs. Magdalene B. Munson was appointed to the third, Mrs. H. C. Wirick to the fourth and Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead to the seventh. Mrs. Catharine A. Hoffman was made chairman of the press committee, Dr. Alberta Corbin, chairman of the membership extension, and Miss Effie Graham, chairman of education. A department of finance was created in 1912 with Mrs. Pansy (C. Charles) Clark as chairman.—*History of Woman Suffrage*, v. VI, pp. 196, 197.

8. Minutes of the executive board, meeting of July 10, 11, 1911.—Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston Collection, Manuscripts division, Kansas State Historical Society. (Unless otherwise stated all letters, bulletins and reports used in this article are from the Johnston collection.)

schools. The essay contest, which Miss Graham thought would provide an excellent chance to make converts of the parents, was to be one of elimination. The essays written by the children in the district schools were entered for county prizes; the county winners entered the district contests, and the winners in the districts competed for the state prize.⁹ Debates between the schools were to be arranged also. Mrs. C. A. Hoffman, chairman of the press department, furnished suffrage articles to the many state papers, thus reaching the remotest parts of the state.

One of the first problems to be met was that of finance. Politicians had told the women that they would need at least \$30,000 to conduct a campaign. The suffragists knew that they would never be able to raise that amount, having no favors or patronage to bestow, if successful, in return for financial aid. But with only \$140 in the treasury they set resolutely to work to raise the money. As a beginning the members of the board pledged from \$25 to \$200 each. Throughout the campaign money kept coming in in dribs and drabs as local organizations held bazaars, food sales, ice cream festivals, suffrage teas, or some suffragist sold a bit of fancy work or made a gift of money. Russell county's equal suffrage association gave a dinner on one day of their chautauqua, clearing thirty-five dollars. They boasted that William Jennings Bryan ate with them.¹⁰

Many of the county-seat towns put on the play, "How the Vote Was Won." Minstrels and picture shows were also popular ways of raising funds. Some farm women donated hens or frys to the cause. Mrs. C. W. (Lizzie) Smith of Stockton wrote: "I have sold two dozen eggs, ten pounds of butter, one peck of crab apples, and engaged two pecks more. This goes to the suffrage fund."¹¹ Some women also did their own work and saved the servant hire. Self denial weeks and "tag days" were held.

One lucrative source instituted by Mrs. Pansy (C. Charles) Clark was the sale of balloons. These balloons were from two to two-and-a-half feet in circumference when blown up, of a bright orange color and lettered with "Votes for Women" or "Votes for Mother." They were sold on the streets, at picnics, fairs, parties and other gatherings. June 29, 1912, was set aside as "Balloon Day" and all profits from the sale of these balloons were given to state headquarters. Over \$500 was raised in this way during the campaign. Mrs. Clark

9. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 3, 1912.

10. "Echoes From Suffrage Headquarters," *Topeka*, August 19 [1912], p. 2.—Mimeo-graphed bulletin.

11. *Ibid.*

received orders for balloons from Massachusetts and inquiries from all parts of the United States.

Financial aid also came from outside the state. Nebraska, Florida, Arkansas, California, Missouri, Kentucky and Pennsylvania all sent contributions. Chadron, Neb., sent a check for \$16.85, the proceeds of a food sale for the Kansas campaign.¹² Emma DeVoe of Tacoma, Wash., sent cook books to be sold at one dollar each. The national suffrage association helped liberally, giving in all \$2,200. The total amount received from May, 1911, to November, 1912, was a little less than \$16,000, the greater part of which came from Kansas.¹³

The campaign was constantly hampered by lack of funds. The task of organizing 105 counties and educating 400,000 people could not have been carried on successfully but for the sacrificing work of many of the women, notably the president and secretary, who gave all their time without pay. Only the stenographers in the state headquarters received compensation. And with the exception of ten dollars a week to a few capable women to take care of their share in helping maintain the family, none of the workers received pay for their services. Prominent speakers and organizers from outside the state gave of their time. The traveling expenses of these workers were met in a majority of cases by collections taken at the meetings, and their entertainment was usually provided by resident suffragists.

Soon after taking up her work Mrs. Johnston received a letter from a representative of an Eastern magazine asking for an account of the "spectacular propaganda" they expected to use in the campaign. She later wrote:

Looking over the situation I could not think of a single woman that I would dare ask to carry a banner down Kansas Avenue, the business street in our capitol city, or a woman who would speak on a street corner, and I answered that since John Brown, Jerry Simpson and Carrie Nation had gone to Heaven, and Mary Ellen Lease to New York, we were rather short on the spectacular and would probably have a very hum-drum campaign but that we were going to win without either spectacular or militant methods.¹⁴

The district presidents returned from the July board meeting and began the work of county organization. The need for organizers was immediately felt. Mrs. Grinstead, president of the "Big Seventh" with its thirty-two counties, wrote that it would be "humanly impossible" to visit every county. She thought that with

12. Dr. Emma W. Demaree to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, October 7, 1912.

13. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston to Mrs. Chrystal MacMillan, London, Eng., November 30, 1912.

14. "Lessons From the Kansas Campaign," by Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston.—Typewritten statement dated at St. Louis, Mo., April 2, 1913.

two helpers she might do one-third the district.¹⁵ Later Mrs. Cora G. Lewis and others gave her the needed assistance. Dr. Helen Brewster Owens, a Kansas girl living in New York, offered to pay her way to Kansas and give eight weeks of her time to the work, providing her expenses in the state were paid.¹⁶ She came in November and proved a most efficient organizer. The next year she returned and was paid by the national association. Mrs. Johnston spent much time in the field helping the untrained organizers with their first counties.

An extremely hot summer was followed by a severely cold, stormy winter. The women traveled over the state when the temperature ranged from 110 degrees in the shade to 20 degrees below zero. Their reports to headquarters gave interesting accounts of the difficulties and discouragements encountered. They found the press not too friendly at first, and complained that some of the papers grudgingly gave a little space on the last page,¹⁷ or put the items in "small nooks and corners" where they were hard to find.¹⁸ One paper was accused of double-dealing, of pretending friendship and administering "a blow at every opportunity."¹⁹ Mrs. Grinstead wrote of her troubles in the seventh district:

I want *you* to know some of the embarrassments I am meeting. The editor of one of our papers ridiculed me . . . until I have had plenty of indignation to spare. I either had to take him over my checkered apron or challenge him to debate & I chose the latter—he hasn't answered yet. . . .

In the spring I shall take my children to my mother, roll up my sleeves & go to work for the campaign. One old lady down here, *dared* to tell me the rest of them were not *smart* enough to make money out of the suffrage work like I am. I informed her otherwise. . . .²⁰

Mrs. Hoffman reached home in October after an extended trip and informed Mrs. Johnston: "This is the first breath I have had since I returned home. I found the house so dirty and have had no help —so cleaned it entirely my self."²¹ Another prominent suffragist in order to get in her home duties packed away forty pounds of sausage and a big pan of souse on Sunday.²² Dr. Helen Brewster Owens went by freight from Greensburg to Liberal when she found that Rock Island No. 1 was nine hours late. The train crew discovered

15. Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, August 23, 1911.

16. Dr. Helen Brewster Owens to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, June 24, 1911.

17. Mrs. Magdalene B. Munson to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, August 28, 1911.

18. Mrs. Catharine A. Hoffman to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, November 13, 1911.

19. Mrs. Magdalene B. Munson to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, August 28, 1911.

20. Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, November 27, 1911.

21. Mrs. Catharine A. Hoffman to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, October 31, 1911.

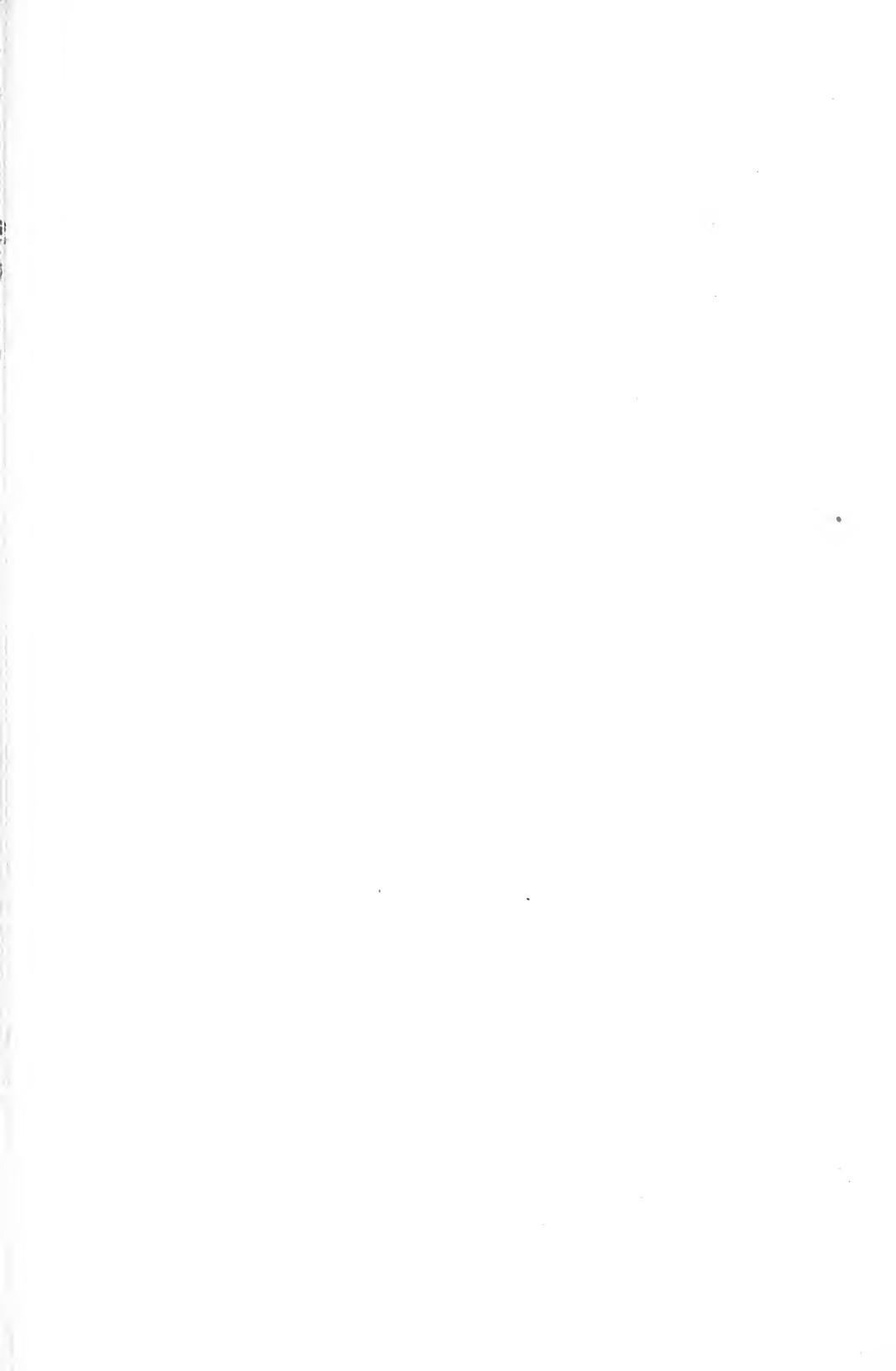
22. Mrs. Mattie B. Hale to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, December 2, 1911.



KANSAS SUFFRAGISTS OF 1912 GO AFTER THE VOTES

The question whether women should be allowed to vote and hold office was decided in Kansas on November 5, 1912, when the equal-suffrage amendment carried with sixteen thousand votes to spare, after attempts in 1867 and 1894 to pass similar legislation had failed.

Suffragists shown above were photographed in Gov. W. R. Stubbs' automobile during the campaign. Left to right, they are: Miss Laura Clay of Lexington, Ky., president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, and four officers of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, president, Mrs. Sarah A. Thurston, treasurer, Miss Helen N. Eacker, secretary, and Mrs. Stella H. Stubbs, vice-president.



that she wanted to make an engagement and succeeded in making up three-fourths of an hour putting the train into Liberal on time, for the first time in over a month.²³ And Mrs. Cora W. Bullard wrote of her direful experience in an attempt to organize Leavenworth county:

If you have not already heard, you are wondering about our meeting at Leavenworth on Dec. 20th, I know, but I have been too ill and worn and worried to get you a line before this. . . . I wish with all my heart that it might be my privilege to write you that the meeting at Leavenworth was a success and that a good strong county organization was effected at the meeting—even as I myself had so fondly hoped—but the meeting was not a success, generally speaking—every thing seemed to go wrong that day. In the first place the weather could hardly have been worse—a steady down pour of rain and sleet all afternoon and evening. The ladies insisted upon calling the meeting off at the last moment, but it was too late to stop Dr. Owen from coming, so I insisted upon a meeting. Every body was crazy-busy with Christmas work—telephone and telegraph messages got mixed, trains were late—no one wanted to assume the task of entertaining Dr. Owen at such a busy time,—Mrs. Goddard could not—her maids brother had just died—and so after many trips to station, and getting soaked and splashed and ruining some good clothes, I caught Dr. Owen on the 7-30 P. M. electric car at Lansing and Mrs. Codding very kindly entertained us there. We reached the Art League rooms at about eight forty five, and found a few faithful ones waiting—a little conference meeting was held, with no attempt at organization. I paid for telegraph messages also telephone, and gave Dr. Owen five dollars out of my own pocket . . . and came home next day with a very severe cold utterly worn out, only to find husband with a badly injured hand—cut while he had been directing some work in pruning apple trees the morning before. . . .²⁴

By January 1, 1912, one third of the counties had been organized, the essay contest was under way in the schools, and state headquarters had been established in the Mills building in Topeka. But the task was a huge one and the workers were all of the opinion that it would take an enormous amount of work to win. Mrs. Ella W. Brown speaking for Sedgwick county said, "Suffrage is worse than luke-warm here."²⁵ Mrs. Matie Kimball, president of the fifth district, summed up the feeling in that district as a general sentiment for suffrage, "but stupendous *apathy* among the women."²⁶ And from the seventh district Mrs. Minnie Grinstead wrote: "The thing that *surprises* me is the lethargy of the 'short grass' region on suffrage. We who are alert on every other question are so far be-

23. Dr. Helen Brewster Owens to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, December 1, 1911.

24. Mrs. Cora Wellhouse Bullard to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, December 26, 1911.

25. Mrs. Ella W. Brown to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, December 20, 1911.

26. Mrs. Matie Kimball to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, December 23, 1911.

hind on this." ²⁷ Mrs. Lizzie Smith reporting on her work in the sixth district observed:

Mrs. Johnston, the apathy of the women is something frightful; . . . Our task is something appalling to me, when I see the carelessness of the women. . . . We have many things to encourage us, but the work . . . is prodigious. . . . I have never done any harder work than this organizing. It is something furious. . . .²⁸

And Mrs. May Johnston was astonished at the indifference and opposition to suffrage in Wichita. "I find," she wrote, "*politicians* . . . who have *frivolous* or *intellectually inferior* wives are not in favor of suffrage." ²⁹

The work of organizing the counties was rushed forward during the early months of 1912 in hope of completing it before opening the campaign for votes. Dr. Owens returned February 18 and began work immediately. In spite of storms and blockaded trains she had the counties of Wabaunsee, Morris, Marion and Chase organized by early March. One newly-elected county president facetiously described the meeting in her county as follows:

Helen Brewster Owens is a darling. . . . I promised to write you the results of her visit here.

First the county is organized with a *complete* set of officers District & Co. The first . . . that she has left in that condition. I used the telephone for about 80 calls and am now a dead paralized defunct woman. . . . It rained, snowed & blizzarded but she had as good an audience at the Court House in eve as we would have expected had the weather been good. . . . She organized a club of 21 members.

The president elected is antiquated spavined & ringboned but she is broke to harness & will pull if you use the whip— It was a case of her or none & she came into dock in reasonably good shape. Please send any literature & all literature that we are entitled to [as] if you were missionaries & we blind heathen— We will see to collection of dues etc. as soon as the president is recusitated & prods up the other officers. For Heavens sake send what we need we don't know!! . . .

Remembering the mistake in the campaign of 1894,³⁰ the suffragists steered clear of political alliances and sought to keep the campaign on a non-partisan basis. However they attended political meetings and the speakers usually had polite notes passed to them asking that they speak a word for the suffrage amendment. Such a note was sent and supposedly received by Theodore Roosevelt when he spoke at Wichita in April, 1912. According to the president

27. Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, December 29, 1911.

28. Mrs. Lizzie W. Smith to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, February 8, 1912.

29. Mrs. May J. (W. T.) Johnston to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, April 19, 1912.

30. The suffrage amendment in 1894 was endorsed by the Populist party and consequently was opposed by both the major parties.

of the Sedgwick county association, he never referred to woman suffrage and even "addressed his audience of which nearly 1/2 were women, *Men & Women*, the *Men* were first and foremost in everything." "He hasn't got the vision yet," she wrote, "that lifts him out of self and political aspiration so he can work for and comprehend the idea of 'The Common Good.'" ³¹

Suffragists were frequently given a place on the program at political meetings of both parties. While the women avoided affiliation with political parties, they did seek the endorsement of other organizations in the state. During the campaign all state organizations of women, comprising more than sixty thousand persons, endorsed the suffrage amendment. Such endorsements made an effective answer to the alibi that women did not want the ballot. The amendment was also endorsed by nearly every other organization in the state, including the Teachers Association, State Federation of Labor, State Grange, State Board of Agriculture, Conference of Churches, G. A. R., Editorial Association, State Temperance Union and many others.³²

In April, 1912, a Men's League for Woman Suffrage was organized. In her appeal to the men to co-operate in woman's "struggle for political liberty," Mrs. Johnston advised that the interests of the sexes were inseparable; that women had ever stood by men in promoting a good cause; and that men had never failed to help other men in their struggles for liberty. She knew that there were thousands of Kansas men in sympathy with the cause but they were not organized.³³ In a letter to Thomas Hardy of Parsons she gave the following suggestions as to how men could help in the campaign:

There are people whom women cannot approach, and places where women do not congregate, and in these places you could be of valuable service, that is in barber shops, hotel lobbies, all kinds of shops, on the streets, and at public meetings for men. These are most excellent places where an opportunity could be seized to talk for "Votes for the Woman's Suffrage Amendment."

Men will not come to suffrage meetings arranged by women, unless already interested, and we cannot well take our meetings into these places, and so we are depending largely upon our men friends and their chivalry to help us in this effort we are making to help American women. . . .³⁴

In response to the appeal a men's state league was formed with Dr. E. S. Pettyjohn as president. The league had many influential members including ministers, teachers, professors, lawyers, business

31. Mrs. May Johnston to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, April, 1912.

32. "Lessons From the Kansas Campaign," by Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston.

33. Circular letter, n. d.—Mimeographed.

34. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston to Thomas Hardy, June 12, 1912.

men and politicians. The governor, chief justice of the supreme court and other state officers were members. The organization was important in giving prestige to the cause; members were invaluable advisers, and some were active workers.³⁵

A highlight at the beginning of the campaign was the visit of Miss Jane Addams of Hull-House, Chicago. Miss Addams wrote that she would arrive in Kansas in time for the state convention on May 7, and had to be back in Chicago by the 13th.³⁶ She wished to spend the last Sunday with her sister, Mrs. Haldeman of Girard.³⁷ All the larger towns began to clamor for her and the secretary had difficulty in arranging her itinerary. Dr. Anna Shaw wrote suggesting that they "do not spread Jane Addams out too thin," but to save her for a few important meetings,³⁸ and she herself asked not to be scheduled for more than two speeches a day.³⁹ She arrived in Kansas City on May 6. The Wyandotte county association had made extensive preparations for her coming. A parade of decorated cars escorted her to Armour's packing company where she addressed the workers. In the afternoon she spoke to a large crowd at the high school auditorium. Her visit is best described perhaps, by Dr. C. Charles Clark, husband of Pansy Clark, who wrote Mrs. Johnston:

I met her at the depot in your name. I am glad to report that to you, to the Associated Press and to Nan Williston and the untiring and resourceful work of Mrs. Clark is due the fact that this was a—howling success. We were hampered on all sides. I was personally insulted, but we calmly stuck—and when it was over our enemys of all sorts gave their praise without stint, they took to the brush with their tails dragging and ears flopping. It was wonderful. When Jane Addams was at the turn of the viaduct, Mrs. Clark bade her look back, and the gayly decorated automobiles were still coming. We had at least 200 people in cars. Nan Williston, Jane Addams and my Mrs. Clark cried, and Jane Addams took the girls hands and said—this is one of the greatest events of my life. . . . When they were all in the court at Armours, the last truck load of women drove up scattering flowers and singing America. The working men took off their hats and cheered, and everyone cried. . . . Mrs. Clark by personal request got Armours superintendent to have all the 1000 workingmen present, the supt. had a special platform builded, and when Mrs. Clark presented the great armful of American beauties, Miss Addams cried, and said she wouldn't have missed this for anything. The crowd was wild with enthusiasm. We are tired and happy—Victory is sweet and we are going to win next November. . . .⁴⁰

35. *History of Woman Suffrage*, v. VI, p. 198.

36. Miss Jane Addams to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, April 5, 1912.

37. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1912.

38. Dr. Anna H. Shaw to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, April 30, 1912.

39. Miss Jane Addams to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, April 5 and 13, 1912.

40. Dr. C. Charles Clark to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, May 7, 1912.

From Kansas City Miss Addams went to Lawrence where she spoke in the Bowersock theater. The crowd was large and enthusiastic and the only regret Doctor Corbin had was that they "did not do more to make money" out of her visit.⁴¹

The state convention, held at Wichita on May 7-9, was the "biggest, most enthusiastic suffrage convention ever held in the state."⁴² The state officers were unanimously re-elected; many campaign pledges were made, and the convention voted to again unite with the national organization. The district presidents and department chairmen gave encouraging reports. The principal speakers were Miss Jane Addams and the Rev. Olympia Brown Willis of Wisconsin who had campaigned for suffrage in Kansas in 1867. At least 1,400 people crowded into the Crawford theater to hear Miss Addams' plea for the recognition of women. At two street meetings she stood on the rear seat of an automobile and spoke in a street packed with men. An evening reception at the Masonic Temple closed the convention.⁴³ Miss Addams also addressed large crowds at Wellington, Winfield, Arkansas City, Pittsburg and Girard. The Rev. Olympia Brown Willis went from Wichita to Junction City to speak. The visits of these women greatly inspired the workers and made many votes for the cause.

In June the campaign began in earnest. The suffragists soon learned that they would have to go where the crowds were instead of waiting at a church or hall for the crowds to come to them. This they did by attending chautauquas, county fairs, old settlers' reunions, teachers' institutes and wherever there was a gathering. They also planned picnics, parades, concerts, rallies, etc. Chautauquas were favorite places for campaigning since they were held in many counties, lasted for a week or more, and drew unusually large crowds. The suffragists frequently maintained headquarters at these gatherings and their speakers were often given a place on the program. Lecturers usually responded gladly when asked to say a word for suffrage. Mrs. Johnston, however, recalled one exception:

I remember especially of one chautauqua assembly at Olathe where with others, among them the Governor's wife, I had made a suffrage talk in the main auditorium during the afternoon. A noted lecturer from the sunny southland was to speak in the evening. I was introduced to him a short time before he was to go on the platform and politely assured him that the women in his audience would appreciate it if he would say a word during the evening favorable to the suffrage amendment. I had heard much of southern chivalry

41. Dr. Alberta Corbin to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, May 18, 1912.

42. *History of Woman Suffrage*, v. VI, pp. 198, 199.

43. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston to Dr. Anna H. Shaw, May 11, 1912.—Carbon copy.

so was surprised that he continued to puff his cigar while he declared that the women of the south had no desire to vote, and that southern men would not permit their women to mingle in the dirty pool of politics, that the women of the south preferred to remain within their sphere and upon the pedestal where the chivalry of southern gentlemen had placed them, and then forgetting, or perhaps he had never known, that Kansas women had been voting for fifty years, for taking a fresh pull at his cigar he proceeded to draw a picture of all the deplorable things that would happen in the home while the women went to vote. Men and women, he told us, who had always lived together in love and harmony would quarrel and separate, and all women would lose respect in the eyes of men, they would have to pick up their own pocket handkerchiefs and hang on to the straps in the street cars, etc. etc. It was a horrible picture and I gave up protesting. However, as I thought of the clay feet forever dangling from a pedestal I resolved to keep my feet on the ground and take the chances about the handkerchief.⁴⁴

The following excerpts from a mimeographed headquarters' bulletin was typical of the field work being done over the state during the summer:

I have been traveling for seven weeks in the Seventh District, have gone over 200 miles overland, made many speeches in towns and school houses, and I trust have many converts to my credit.—Mrs. Lillian Mitchner.

A suffrage parade and open air meeting at Holton, June 22nd was a great success. I have spoken nine times within five days in Jackson County, in all to 800 or 900 people. Now for Troy, Hiawatha, Sabetha, and Seneca.—Dr. Helen Brewster Owens.

Mrs. Baldwin will speak for us on the Fourth. On July first we give a playlet in the airdome. This will be repeated in the surrounding towns in Johnson County. Merchants, grocers, and laundry men, one day in the week, put a suffrage leaflet into each package sent out. A suffragist stays in each store on that day to assist.—Mrs. Angeline Allison.

We left a rainbow flyer and Congressional speech in every mail box between Topeka and Lawrence. We decorated the car with balloons before we started and at every house we tooted our horn and when the people came running out, we gave them literature.—Mrs. C. Charles Clark, Rosedale, State Chairman of Finance.

House to House Canvass well under way in Riley County, 600 members. Enrolled 58 members after a talk to the Institute June 25th. . . . In two blocks canvassed only *one* opposed.—Mrs. Matie Kimball, Pres. Fifth District.

Douglas County is wide awake. North Lawrence has practically completed the canvass. Very few are opposed. Miss Laurenia Shaw and her lieutenants are working among the teachers in the Institute. She is driving all over the county organizing the school districts. We expect soon to give the play "How the Vote Was Won."—Dr. Alberta Corbin.

Leaders and workers for every county were hard to secure and one woman described the situation in her community as follows:

44. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, "What Will It Profit Us If We Gain the Vote and Lose the Gallantry of Men!"—Typewritten speech dated about 1913.

I am sending you a report of our first meeting, that you may know that we are at work, and that you may see that I am wearing the "martyr's cap, dyed with my own blood," to quote Savonarola. I simply had to take hold, for there was no one else, and the woman who had promised to be Press lady was too lazy to do anything, and told me there was absolutely no work to the office, or she would not have taken it, and that she only took it to help out Mrs. B—.

Just what I will be able to do with it I cannot say, but it is a lead pipe cinch that I have not the same allusion about the office as the lady who preceded me. But send along a bunch of bulletins. I have absolutely nothing new, and Mrs. L— did not turn over any to me when she left town.

We have a problem here. Mr. ——'s editor—a nice little man with a sweet little wife—the pair of them think they invented matrimony—was very much of a suffragist until his sweet little wife took a decided stand against it, and now he is so overcome with her arguments that he won't see the other side. Mrs. B— and I are going to labor with him tomorrow. . . .

This neck of the woods surely looks like a big desert to us, if you will excuse the mixed metaphor, and we do not promise anything. I have been asked to talk before the County Institute this week, and will do my best, but so few people will do anything. We are all so busy. . . .

Literally tons of literature were distributed during the campaign. The national association and the California organization sent thousands of leaflets and other materials, and approximately five hundred dollars were expended with Topeka printers for leaflets and pamphlets.⁴⁵ This literature was given out at all gatherings, distributed at schools, placed on rural mail boxes or wherever it would reach a voter. A letter from the president in August urged the co-workers to do all the publicity work possible. In addition to using the newspapers, the suffragists were urged to watch the candidates. When they put up their plea for votes on telegraph poles, trees and fences, it was suggested that "Votes for Women" be pasted or tacked alongside. Eventually the whole state was to be placarded so that no farmer could ride to town without seeing the words many times.⁴⁶ Mrs. C. A. Hoffman, motoring to Colorado from Enterprise, "nailed literature to trees, left it in hotels, and on mail boxes, and talked suffrage all the way to the Colorado line." "Will return in two weeks," she wrote, "then I'm in the harness to the end."⁴⁷

Much credit for the success of the campaign was due to suffrage workers from other states who generously answered the call for personal service. Miss Jane Addams, the Rev. Olympia Brown Willis and Dr. Helen Brewster Owens have been mentioned. Doctor Owens came to Kansas in November, 1911, and worked six weeks.

45. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 3, 1912.

46. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston to Co-workers, August 10, 1912.

47. Headquarters' bulletin, August 12, 1912.—Mimeographed.

She returned the next February at the solicitation of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw who offered her a salary of one hundred dollars a month. She remained as field organizer until the last of July when overcome by heat, she went home for a month's rest. Returning the first of September, she worked unceasingly until the election.⁴⁸ Omar E. Garwood, a well known Denver lawyer and orator, donated ten days—from July 21 to 29—to Kansas. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, spent ten days in the state just before the election. Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston, Mass., sent out by the National College Equal Suffrage League, made a tour of the Kansas colleges. Miss Laura M. Clay, president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association and a descendant of the great Cassius M. Clay, came to Kansas for a six-weeks' campaign beginning September 3. She not only gave six weeks of most strenuous service and paid her own expenses home, but on leaving donated one hundred dollars to the campaign fund.⁴⁹

Other out-of-state workers were Mrs. Kate Chapin House of Peru, Neb., Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby of Portland, Ore., Dr. Julia Riddle of Wisconsin, Mrs. Edwin A. Knapp of Parkville, Mo., Miss Mary Graham Rice of Norwalk, Ohio, Mrs. C. C. Holly of Colorado, David R. Smith of Arizona, Mrs. Augusta Zehner of Dallas, Tex., and S. J. Brandenburg of Ohio. The favorable Catholic vote was due partly to the work of Mrs. Mary E. Ringrose and her sister, Miss Catherine Fennessy of California, who came the last week of September and stayed until October 22.⁵⁰ The militant methods used by English suffragists were banned and no speakers who employed them were invited to the state.

The automobile was an effective means of reaching the farm communities and towns and counties without railroad facilities. Special efforts were made to reach farmers for it was the farm vote that saved the day in the newly-enfranchised state of California. Workers were urged to make auto trips to every part of their county, school districts as well as towns; to take speakers, music, literature and suffrage banners, and to speak in the open air or wherever there was an opportunity.⁵¹ Many such trips were made during the campaign, frequently through extreme heat and dust. Mrs. Minnie Grinstead made an auto tour through the then railroadless counties

48. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 3, 1912.

49. Headquarters' bulletin, October 28, 1912.—Mimeo graphed.

50. Mrs. Mary E. Ringrose to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, September 26, October 22, 1912.

51. Miss Helen N. Eacker to Co-workers, September 12, 1912.—Mimeo graphed letter.

of Stanton, Grant, Haskell, Morton and Stevens. Returning to Liberal on July 13 she informed headquarters:

Just "arrove" and have had a lunch. We have starved since we left Santa Fe. We were not entertained anywhere else. . . . My face is almost blistered, but I *organized*. It was a great trip and I have at all places tried to open the way for Miss Burtis. . . .

I hope you appreciate the fact that this is the hardest trip the cause will have.⁵²

A number of counties organized automobile teams to go into the small towns to hold street meetings.⁵³ Mrs. H. P. Pomeroy of Phillipsburg planned an auto tour of fifteen decorated cars for every Saturday to the different towns in Phillips county. A double quartet and several young women readers furnished the entertainment.⁵⁴ One automobile trip included a part of the same route covered by the Rev. Olympia Brown Willis and other suffrage workers in the campaign of 1867, when they often rode in "ox-teams or on Indian ponies," and spent the nights in "dugouts or sod houses."⁵⁵ A big parade of decorated cars carried Hutchinson suffragists to a barbecue at Nickerson. The women stayed up until midnight the night before decorating their automobiles, and got up at 5:30 the next morning. There were few of the 7,000 persons at the barbecue who were not given literature, and the suffragists reported finding little opposition.⁵⁶ Another party of fourteen and often more automobiles traveled over the old Santa Fe trail from Larned through seven counties.⁵⁷

Two auto trips to cover the greater part of the state were planned for September. The first, to be initiated by Mrs. Clara Colby of Portland, Ore., was to start from Kansas City and was to include parts of the first, third and seventh districts and all of the second district. For various reasons this enterprise failed and Mrs. Colby went by train. The second was a success.⁵⁸ On September 4, Mrs. Lucy Johnston and Miss Laura Clay left Topeka in the Stubbs' car for Enterprise.⁵⁹ They addressed large crowds in nearly all the towns en route and held street meetings at Rossville, Wamego, Manhattan and Abilene. At Enterprise Mrs. Catharine Hoffman and Mrs. Matie Kimball, president of the fifth district joined them; the

52. Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, July 13, 1912.

53. Headquarters' bulletin, August 12, 1912.—Mimeographed.

54. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1912.

55. *History of Woman Suffrage*, v. VI, p. 200.

56. Mrs. Laura Reed Yaggy to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, September, 1912.

57. Headquarters' bulletin, June 1, 1912.

58. *The Woman's Journal*, Boston, Mass., September 21, 1912.—"Equal Suffrage Scrap-book."

59. The Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 9, 1912.

Stubbs' car returned to Topeka, and in Mrs. Hoffman's car the four proceeded on their tour of the fifth district including ten counties. The local suffrage associations made preparations for them in each place, "and when the suffrage car came honking into sight way down the main street, it was followed by the majority of the voters of the village."⁶⁰ They spoke from their car, in schoolhouses, theaters, parks, tents, public halls, in private homes, on soap boxes and stumps. At Minneapolis they attended a circus and spoke under the tent. Never just sure of what kind of a reception they would receive, they usually approached a town with some "trepidation," but they always rode away "as gay and happy as a band of school girls."⁶¹ "Everywhere we had bouquets; no where did we have cabbages," said Mrs. Johnston. The trip covered over 1,000 miles, included forty towns and reached 10,000 people.⁶² At Stockton Mrs. Lizzie W. Smith, president of the sixth district, took charge of Miss Clay who continued her speaking tour, and the rest of the party returned home.

Miss Clay entered the "big seventh" district around October 1, and spoke at a street meeting in Harper. Mrs. Shriver sat with her during the speaking and Miss Neff secured Mrs. A. G. Washbon, wife of the leading attorney, to occupy the other seat. "No two women in town," wrote Miss Neff, "could have lent more prestige and both of the other ladies are larger than Miss Clay so it's no wonder the tire flattened during the speech."⁶³ From Harper Miss Clay went to Kiowa for a celebration on October 3. She then spoke at Wichita and Emporia and reached Topeka on October 6.

No group or class of people was overlooked. Mrs. Munson of the third district, who did much work among the miners, wrote:

You must visit the miners unions wherever they meet at the various camps. I have been to a number and one cannot go alone, as it is hardly safe to go about the camps alone at night. . . . It is easy to gain admission to any of the unions. I went to the carmen's union last evening. Receive the most courteous treatment and hearty applause from all of them. More voters can be reached in this way than by any number of public meetings. Even the secret orders let us in. Don't ask permission in advance, as they would debate it and refuse. Just go and knock at the door as you would visit a neighbor and they will let you in. Sometimes we have to wait a little while, but never long. . . .⁶⁴

Mrs. Ringrose worked among the Poles and in other foreign settlements in Kansas City. In general the foreign element was opposed

60. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1912.

61. Mrs. Lucy Johnston, "Lessons From the Kansas Campaign"; Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 20, 1912.

62. Headquarters' bulletin, September 16, 1912.—Mimeographed.

63. Miss Maggie Neff to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, October 2, 1912.

64. Mrs. Magdalen B. Munson to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, October 2, 1912.

to equal suffrage. Special attention was given the colored people and in Lyon county they had their own organization, preferring to do their work "in their own way and under their own officers." ⁶⁵

The prize essay contest and suffrage debates conducted in hundreds of county schools interested both parents and students and made many votes for suffrage. Literature was supplied to all contestants who asked for it, and fully two thirds of the counties took part. The contest was open to both girls and boys but the girls were in the majority. One county winner was a thirteen-year-old boy whose mother was opposed to suffrage and whose father was a foreigner. The district contests closed October 12, and not long after the judges awarded the state prize of \$25 to Marian McIntyre of Bucklin. Bertha Clark of Downs received second prize.⁶⁶

The work increased in intensity as the campaign progressed. At state headquarters two secretaries and three stenographers and the president "broke all the minimum wage and maximum hour laws in trying to keep pace with the activities throughout the state."⁶⁷ Early in October the president appealed to the clergy of Kansas to reciprocate woman's helpfulness in the church by preaching a sermon October 13 on the subject, "Woman and Her Place in the World's Work."⁶⁸ Reports to headquarters showed that the ministers throughout the state responded liberally. Members of the men's league engaged actively in the work, giving several weeks to speaking tours. Among these were U. S. Guyer, John MacDonald and W. Y. Morgan. "The more I have worked, the more interested I become," wrote W. Y. Morgan. "In fact, I am not interested in anything but the amendment, and I will go any where I can do any good in the next few days."⁶⁹ The Good Government Club of Topeka, working independently of the Suffrage Association, conducted a campaign in Topeka and surrounding towns.

As the election drew near the workers met with encouraging signs. They had the feeling that people were interested by the way they were willing to wait for delayed speakers. For instance, Mrs. Lucia O. Case was forced to go by carriage to fill an engagement at Lenora when her automobile failed to start. She telephoned the chairman that she was coming as fast as "horse flesh could carry her," and the crowd waited until after nine o'clock for her arrival and then sat

65. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston to Alice Stone Blackwell, February 9, 1912.—Carbon copy.

66. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 3, 1912; Effie Graham, circular letter.

67. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, "History of Suffrage Organization."—Typewritten manuscript.

68. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, "Lessons From the Kansas Campaign."

69. Cowper, Mary O., "A History of Woman Suffrage in Kansas" (1914).—Typewritten thesis, Library, Kansas State Historical Society; W. Y. Morgan to Miss Helen Eacker, October 28, 1912.

on until after 10:30 listening to her speech. And again, when Mrs. Clara Colby's train was three hours late, she telephoned Kingman where she was to speak for someone to "hold the fort" until she arrived. Mrs. Dora Mitchell proceeded to do the talking until after ten o'clock, saying occasionally, "Mrs. Colby will soon be here." Mrs. Colby arrived and spoke until after eleven o'clock and the greater part of the crowd remained.⁷⁰ Another favorable omen, noticed by Mrs. Yaggy, was that the politicians who had formerly opposed equal suffrage were beginning to explain why they did so. "Not because they were *personally* but on account of this and that and the other thing!" "In other words," she said, "I think they feel it is coming and want their past sins forgiven!"⁷¹

The foe that women dreaded most was the liquor interests, which, they had been warned, "would rather defeat suffrage in Kansas than in any other two states."⁷² Early in the summer literature designed to arouse prejudices had been sent to Kansas with appeals to the newspapers to publish it, but without success. Later the women of Oregon sent word that a minister who had "united his efforts with the worst elements to defeat the suffrage amendment in two campaigns" in that state, was coming to Kansas. "The Men's League, the press and the ministers co-operated with the women and 'Clarence, the Untrue,' was effectively bound and gagged."⁷³ An attempt in the nature of a roorback was also made, that of circulating anti-suffrage literature containing false statements just before the election and too late to be refuted. Suffrage in Ohio had been defeated by this method just a few months before. About ten days before the election samples of such literature fell into the hands of a Kansas City, Mo., man who loyally reported it to the president. The staff at headquarters remained all night at the office getting out letters to expose the plan. These were sent to all weekly papers for their last issues before the election, and an Associated Press letter in the dailies of November 3 and 4 made a sufficient defense.⁷⁴

The crowning event of the campaign was the coming of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, during the ten days preceding the election. Doctor Shaw and Miss Lucy Anthony, niece of the noted suffragist, Susan B. Anthony, came into Kansas from a tour of Arizona. At Syracuse they were met by a large party of suffragists who welcomed them

70. Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 14, 1912.

71. Mrs. Laura Reed Yaggy to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, September, 1912.

72. *History of Woman Suffrage*, v. VI, pp. 200, 201.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

74. *Ibid.*

in the name of the women of Kansas. Doctor Shaw's tour across the state was a continuous ovation. Everywhere she spoke to large audiences and thrilled them with her eloquence. Doctor Corbin was enthusiastic over her visit to Lawrence, writing to Mrs. Johnston: "At the morning service she stirred the soul of every man and woman present and made even the commonplace faces *shine*. Her two hours' lecture at the Bowersock in the afternoon was magnificent, and only Champ Clark has had so large an audience."⁷⁵ Doctor Shaw's visit was a fitting climax to the strenuous campaign.

The last issue of the headquarters' bulletin came out on October 28, with the heading: "KANSAS MUST NOT FAIL." It reported workers in every part of the state making a heroic effort to cover the field thoroughly. House to house canvasses were being made in doubtful districts. When election day came on November 5 hundreds of women worked at the polls all day, and sat up far into the night for the returns. They felt their efforts were sufficiently rewarded when the final count showed 175,246 votes for the amendment and 159,197 against. In Lawrence every ward carried with the exception of one in which there was a tie. The trouble in that ward, it was reported, was that an automobile of politicians went there on election day and frightened the colored vote into believing that if they voted for Wilson the "Jim Crow" law would be passed and if they voted for suffrage a "grandmother" law would be enforced.⁷⁶

Congratulations poured into headquarters from everywhere. Those who had been in the heat of the battle were especially happy. Mrs. Edwin Knapp, of Parkville, Mo., wrote to Mrs. Johnston:

Now that I am actually ready to write to you, my pen falters and words fail me. In the face of the great truth that Kansas has won I am dumb—dumb with gratitude. I feel almost overwhelmed. . . . Such a song of rejoicing fills my heart. . . . I would love to be with you and dance the Highland fling with Mr. Johnston.⁷⁷

Dr. Anna Shaw telegraphed: "First authentic returns from suffrage vote in Kansas victorious. The national welcomes the seventh star."⁷⁸

A jubilee convention, May 19-20, 1913, was held in the Baptist church at Lawrence in celebration of the victory. Men and women came from all parts of the state. As beffited such a convention,

75. Dr. Alberta Corbin to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, October 28, 1912.

76. Miss Helen Eacker to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, November 16, 1912.

77. Mrs. Edwin A. Knapp to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, November 6, 1912.

78. Dr. Anna H. Shaw to Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, November 6, 1912.

music, feasting and addresses filled the program. The name of the association was changed to the Good Citizenship League.⁷⁹

In enumerating the elements that led to victory, Mrs. Johnston placed first the fact that Kansas had been a prohibition state for thirty-two years, and said:

In our state we have no legalized saloons or any kind of places where liquor is sold, and in this way the principal enemy which woman's suffrage has in this country, the liquor interests, was deprived of centers where they could congregate their forces. Of course, they did not give up on this account; but our people, both men and women, having had 32 years experience in keeping the brewers and distillers out of our state, knew how to meet them in this battle, and to circumvent their activities. . . .⁸⁰

Other reasons for success were that Kansas women had had school suffrage for fifty years and municipal suffrage for over twenty years. Thus the women of Kansas were already voters and had only asked for promotion.

79. *History of Woman Suffrage*, v. VI, pp. 201, 202.

80. Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston to Mrs. Chrystal MacMillan, London, Eng., November 30, 1912.

Bypaths of Kansas History

WHEN SOME OF THE MAILS TRAVELED "SECOND CLASS"

From the Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal of Commerce*, January 9, 1859.

Passengers arriving in the eastern stages on Friday evening, report to Mr. Foster, our post office clerk, that six bags of mail matter were thrown off from the stage between Tipton and Independence, to make room for passengers.

Henry M. Stanley, who later was to find Livingstone in Africa, visited western Kansas during the Indian campaigns of 1867. In his *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia* (1895), v. I, p. 49, he wrote:

It has frequently been the custom for overloaded stages to dump the mail into some of the creeks that run across the road. In Plum creek, above Fort Larned, when the expedition passed over it, were found five bags of mail matter, and one sack of books, which consisted fortunately of only agricultural reports. . . .

TO AND FROM THE GOLD MINES

From the New York *Daily Tribune*, March 21, 1859.

OUTFIT FOR THE GOLD MINES.—We republish from the St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette* the following list of articles necessary for an outfit to the gold mines. It has been carefully prepared by men of large experience in frontier life, and all who intend to emigrate will do well to be guided by it. Of course other little conveniences and luxuries will be added according to the taste of emigrants. A few good books should not be omitted, and an order for the *Tribune* should by no means be forgotten.

Traveling and Camp Outfit for Four Men.—3 yoke of oxen, 1 wagon, covers, etc.; 1 tent, 3 augurs, 1 chisel, 1 ax, 1 handsaw, 1 nail hatchet, 1 drawing knife, 1½-inch file, 6 lbs. nails, coffee boiler, 1 coffee mill, 1 camp kettle, 1 frying pan, 1 skillet or oven, 1 bread pan, 6 coffee cups, 6 tin plates, 1 set of knives and forks, 1 set of spoons, 1 water keg, 1 water bucket, 1 water dipper, 1 lantern, 10 lbs. candles, 2 dozen boxes matches, 25 lbs. soap, 1 grass scythe and scythe.

Mining Tools, For Each Man.—2 steel picks, 1 round point shovel, 1 gold pan, 1 large tin-dipper, 1 iron scraper for cleaning up rockers, 1 strong wooden bucket, 1 sieve for cleaning gold, 1 blow pan, perforated sheet iron for long toms and rockers, irons for axles for wheelbarrows, leather for pump valves, heavy drilling or sail duck for hose, palm, sail needles, twine, tacks, gold scales and weights.

Provisions For Four Men, Six Months.—800 lbs. flour, 400 do. bacon, 200 do. sugar, 50 do. coffee, 6 do. tea, 40 do. dried fruit, 30 do. rice, 60 do. beans, 30 gals. molasses, 200 lbs. crackers and hard bread, 10 do. soda or baking

powders, 2 do. pepper, 30 do. salt, 25 do. lard, 4 gals. pickles, 3 boxes mustard, 2 gals. vinegar, 2 do. brandy.

Luxuries.—Oysters, fresh peaches, sardines, catsup, pepper sauce, tobacco, cigars, pipes, &c.

Each man should take 1 gun, 1 pistol, or revolver, 2 butcher-knives, belt and scabbard, powder, lead, shot and caps, 2 pair heavy Mackinaw blankets, 3 heavy flannel overshirts, 3 pair heavy pants, 3 pair heavy boots, 3 pair heavy socks, 2 pair heavy coats, 3 pair woolen drawers, 1 hat, 1 cap, 1 comfort, 1 vest, 2 pair gloves, 3 silk handkerchiefs, buttons, thread, &c.

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, June 10, 1859.

"INFIT" FROM THE MINES.—Some waggish cotemporary—we know not what one—gives the "infit" of a Pike's Peaker, in contradistinction to the "outfit."

Some months since, so says the aforesaid exchange, we were giving tables, showing items to constitute a complete outfit to Pike's Peak. We are now able to give a schedule of an *infit* as we saw exemplified yesterday by one who has been there and got back:

1 ragged coat, with collar and tail torn off;
 1 pair pants, hanging together by shreds;
 1 hat, barrin' the rim;
 1½ shoes, looking like fried bacon rind;
 1¼ lbs. raw beans;
 1½ pints parched corn.

In answer to our interrogatory whether he designed returning to Pike's Peak shortly, our traveler responded, "not by a jug-full!"

The *Times* bears witness to the truth of the "infit." We have seen emigrants by hundreds exactly thus accoutré.



A FEDERAL JUDGE BEFORE THE HATCH ACT

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, April 28, 1859.

OUTFIT AND WAYS OF A KANSAS JUDGE.—Persons at a distance may not generally know what kind of an outfit is required for a Kansas judge; and we cannot enlighten them better than by mentioning that of Judge [John] Pettit, our new judge, as taken down by an informant, upon the judge's late visit to Hiawatha.

Himself and suite arrived in town, on Sunday evening. His suite, or body-guard, consisted of a clerk, who rode in the buggy with him, and several Democratic lawyers following after. Arriving in town, they were at a loss to find the hotel, and the judge sent his clerk out to hunt one. That worthy started out, with a revolver in his hand, which he carried in plain sight wherever he went, no doubt looking every moment to be set upon by some ruffian Abolitionist. Finding the hotel, they put up, and occupied all their spare time in discussing politics, and devising plans to give the Democratic party control of the territory once more. One of the lawyers got drunk, and spewed at a terrible rate. On the following day, our informant made an excuse to go into the judge's private room, where he glanced around, and found it to contain the following *legal* documents; one keg of brandy, four revolvers,

four bowie knives, three flasks of brandy, and a quantity of cigars and tobacco! When the judge started away, he took all these articles with him in his buggy. When the landlord harnessed the horse to the buggy, the animal took a balking fit, and the man undertook to drive him around awhile, to get him in traveling condition. The judge seeing this, commenced cursing the landlord, pouring forth the oaths as if he were doing it by note, raving loud enough to be heard over the whole town, and giving vent to blasphemies horrible enough to make the hair stand on the head of a heathen!

Such is a fair specimen of federal office-holders in Kansas. Can any decent man blame the people of Kansas for arraying themselves against them? To think of a territorial judge going about with his buggy loaded down with brandy, revolvers and bowie knives, and raving and cursing because a man undertakes to do him a favor; his clerk carrying a revolver through the street, on Sunday, to hunt a hotel; and one of his particular friends getting beastly drunk, and puking all over town!

AN INDIAN ISSUES A DIPLOMATIC "WHITE PAPER"

From the *Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., May 21, 1859.

We give below a letter just received from Bourassa, the Pottawatomie Indian. His account is interesting, as coming from an Indian, and gives an insight into their feeling in such matters:

POTTAWATOMIE RESERVE,
May 13th, 1859.

. . . I now will write you a notice of my people killing two Pawnees, in their own reserve.

The Pottawatomies killed two Pawnees on the 30th day of April, in their own reserve; they came to steal ponies, and also as a war party, probably to kill the Pike's Peakers, on their intended march to the gold mines. These two horse thieves were killed on the road, that leads from Topeka to Wah-bahn-se. The Pottawatomies had lost seven horses curiously from their midst—having accidentally found them tied up in the bushes—they mistrusted some one was about stealing. So they looked for tracks and signs; sure enough they discovered cautious tracks and camp signs of some Indians.

Shaw-gene called together several braves and started in search of them, with the determination to find out what tribe had committed the depredation. In a short time, the keen eyed brave Sho-min, fell on fresh tracks—the thieves having passed on high and low lands, in the beds of creeks, etc., to avoid detection.

After tracking them for several hours, they fell on the thieves—who were apparently watching the public road. Sho-min being the first man who saw them, he killed one, and the young men pitched in and soon dispatched the other marauder. They proved to be Pawnees, one gave up, the other showed fight, but it was in vain, he did not even have time to shoot his first arrow, ere he was laid low by the well aimed rifle, and his head cut off before he

quit kicking. These Pawnees cried out, they were Pawnees, but it done no good, for the fatal shot was made.

These men were not only horse thieves, but they were a regular *war party*, for they had a *war sac* and *war pipe*, which are a token of war. So the Pottawatomies fought on the defensive. If these Pawnees had killed a white man in our reserve, and on the public road, the blame might have fell on the Pottawatomies.

So, in a few days after, the Pottawatomies danced the scalp dance, in Shaw-gene's village, according to their custom.

Pawnees are remarkably noted for committing depredations on all the tribes in their reach, even with those they have entered into bonds of peace and friendship, even upon the people of the United States. They had made such arrangements with the Pottawatomies, but they disregarded them.

It is very curious, what constitutes bravery and honor among the Pawnees, for with them, horse stealing is considered more honorable and brave, than to kill an enemy; so it is, that they get killed and scalped so frequently, by nearly all the other tribes.

Yours,

JOSEPH NAP. BOURASSA.

INDIANS AND NEWSPAPER OFFICES

Reprinted from the *Rocky Mountain News*, Cherry Creek, Kansas territory, in the Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, June 4, 1859.

Our city and vicinity (the Denver area) has been visited recently by great numbers of the native population. By far the greater number are Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Apaches, coming in large parties, erecting their lodges in our midst; they spend a few days and then move on to other hunting grounds. We have also noticed small delegates of Comanches, Kioways, Sioux and Utes. All seem friendly and well disposed toward the white settlers.

Nearly all these Indians are tall and finely formed, being much superior in general appearance and in their manner and mode of living to the Indians of the immediate frontier.

Little Raven paid our office a visit a day or two since; he looked upon the various operations and minutia of the office with interested wonder and astonishment, and when he had seen the movements of the press and the printed sheets therefrom, and the whole operation was explained to him, he ejaculated, "Big Medicine."

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, May 11, 1867.

There have been several "Los!" from the Otoe tribe, in town the past week. One "Big Ingum" came into the *Enterprise* office, and seeing our cans of fancy colored inks, imagined them to be "war paint," and expressed a desire to be painted up. Our Junior Devil embellished his "noble" countenance with a variety of figures in carmine, and furnished him with a beautiful pair of Prussian blue moustaches! Unless that Indian spends a "heap" of money for soap during the next few weeks, he'll stay painted.

A LONG DRIVE WITH A PAIR OF ELK

From the New York *Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1859.

The Cleveland *Leader* announces the arrival in that city of Mr. George Raymond, all the way from Salt Lake City, via Cherry Creek mines and Kansas, having come the entire distance, driving a span of elk before a wagon. The elk in question are only three years old, an age at which horses are not at all fit for use, yet Mr. Raymond assures us that he actually traveled as fast as 100 miles in a single day. Mr. R. is on his way to Vermont with his novel team. The elk have now upon their heads horns three feet in length, which have been only six weeks in growing.

MILITARY REVIEW AT FORT LEAVENWORTH IN 1860

From the Leavenworth *Herald*, March 17, 1860.

Napoleon I was wont to remark that "the sight of soldiers makes soldiers," and yesterday we fully realized its truth when we witnessed the military parade at Fort Leavenworth. "The pomp and circumstance of glorious war" possesses an attraction to which the human heart is peculiarly susceptible, and we found ourselves a willing captive to the grandeur and magnificence of the "tented field."

The weather was propitious in the highest degree. The rays of the sun, tempered by a cool and gentle breeze, shone brightly upon the uniforms of the officers and soldiers, and glistened upon burnished weapons, while good feeling, smiles and happy faces ruled the day.

The exercises took place in the large meadow north of the fort, which is admirably adapted for the purpose in pleasant weather. All the troops at the station were out, in parade dress; consisting of Magruder's battery, Barry's battery, Companies E and F, 2nd artillery, and Company H, 2nd infantry; all under the command of Colonel Magruder. Among the officers who took active part in the exercises we observed Captain Barry, Captain Totten, and Lieutenants Beckwith, Robinson and Lee.

Though we paid close attention to the exercises, our pen would certainly fail at a detailed description. The movements were executed with a precision and swiftness which challenge any comparison; the maneuvering being the same as executed upon the field of battle. It was truly an inspiring sight, just such a one as excites the spectator's patriotism to fever heat. The blasts of the bugles, the roll of the drums, the measured tread of infantry, the thundering rush of artillery, the rolling fire of musketry, and the roar of the cannon, all united, forced upon us a retrospect of the bloody drama of war, enacted during our century, and we wandered from Austerlitz, Marengo and Waterloo, to the fields of Mexico, and again to Montebello and Solferino, in sunny Italy.

The troops certainly exhibited great proficiency, if we are permitted to judge, and reflect much credit upon the officers who have them in charge, as well as upon the country. We doubt whether better or more efficient batteries were ever upon the field of battle than the two now at Fort Leavenworth—Magruder's and Barry's.

The taste and skill of Colonel Magruder in getting up these military displays, is certainly commendable. They are a new feature at the fort, and we are pleased to know that they are received with general favor. They enable the public to form a correct estimate of the men who protect our country in the hour of trial, and the skill and daring of those who lead where danger calls. On behalf of our citizens, we tender thanks to Colonel Magruder for the grand *Matinee Militaire* of Tuesday. May it not be the last.

The Colonel's marquee abounded with the delicacies requisite for the occasion, and the handsome manner in which he did the honors, when not engaged in the field, were well calculated to convey a favorable impression. We say this in his behalf, without wishing to detract in the least from the distinguished consideration due Captain Barry and other officers, who did the amiable quite handsomely.

A large number of ladies and gentlemen from the city and fort were present. They all appeared to enjoy the opportunity, and expressed much gratification at being permitted to witness the display.

WITCHCRAFT IN KANSAS

From *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 24, 1862.

An Indian woman was lately condemned to death, and subsequently shot by the Indians still encamped near Leroy. The charge against her was that of witchcraft. The authorities in charge of those Indians have distinctly and most emphatically given them to understand that another such occurrence will not be tolerated, and the chief executioner has been arrested by the United States marshal and is now held in custody. So says the *Burlington Register*.

MUTINY ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

From *The Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, Junction City, June 18, 1864.

We learn from the Atchison *Free Press* that a mutiny took place on the *Montana*, on Saturday morning, shortly after she left St. Joseph. The deck hands got into a difficulty with the Negro cooks, and commenced an attack upon them. The cooks in turn threw hot water upon the deck hands, who finally overpowered the Negroes, and they fled to the cabin above. The deck hands armed themselves with knives and followed the Negroes. They stabbed the steward and another Negro, the former in four different places. He crawled under the table, where the roustabouts continued to beat him, when the mate arrived with a stick of wood and knocked down three or four of the mutineers. They then retreated to the lower deck, devoured the breakfast intended for the passengers, and held high carnival until the boat landed at a woodyard, when the whole party, eighteen in number, jumped ashore. The passengers were obliged to wood up, and the boat was compelled to leave without a crew.

WHY THE TRAINS WERE LATE

From the Junction City *Union*, September 5, 1868.

Trains going west now lie over at Ellsworth during the night, owing to the Indian scare. They run to Hays by ten o'clock the next morning.

FUEL RATIONED? TRY THIS!

From the Dodge City *Times*, June 1, 1878.

The fuel question is one of great moment in this country. The Wichita *Eagle* describes a Farmer's Fuel Press for sale in that city. It rapidly and conveniently compresses slough grass, corn stalks, sunflowers, husks, etc., into good, convenient shape for stove fuel. It makes fuel easier and faster than can be made out of wood after it has been cut and hauled, even if wood was obtainable. The machine costs \$25 and freight. Two men can put up one cord and a half in one hour. It also cuts feed and makes a good sorghum mill, the sorghum stalks being converted into fuel as they leave the machine. The machines are made of iron.

WAR STAMPS MIGHT SELL FASTER THIS WAY

From *The Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, June 28, 1878.

Hug socials are now the rage. It costs ten cents to hug any one between fifteen and twenty, five cents from twenty to thirty, one dollar to hug another man's wife, old maids two for a nickel, while female lecturers are free with a chromo thrown in. At these prices it is said that the old maids are most productive, because they can stand so much of it without getting tired. A fortune awaits the organization that will get up the first hug social in Abilene.

A NOVEL EXPRESS PACKAGE

This department was skeptical of the following story published in *The Mercury*, Manhattan, May 28, 1884, until Walter E. McKeen of Manhattan came along with an affidavit by his fellow townsman, Louis H. Woodman, who remembers the facts, as stated, to be true.

The express from the midnight train had been landed upon the depot, and the messenger had just finished his lonely task of wheeling it into the store room, when he heard a voice interrogate, "are you through?" The expressman started, and looked wildly around, but could not see anybody, and was just concluding that he was mistaken, when another outbreak brought him to his wits and raised his hair a little higher: "I say, hurry up that checking and turn me over." The expressman had been in tight places—had witnessed many a wreck on the railroad, but in all his experience he never felt so pale as at that moment, but was relieved by, "say, cast your eye down to your right hoof." On doing as commanded, he discovered a human face peering out a

square opening in a box, "can't you turn me over, I don't want to stand on my head all night." The expressman rushed to the night operator and the two with a thirty-two caliber and the handle of a letter press, returned and standing the box on the other side, demanded an explanation of the situation: "Well, look on your book and you'll see I'm all right." The book showed an entry: "To W. C. Buell, Manhattan, Kansas, one box merchandise, from Chicago, collect charges, \$9.25." This entry corresponded with address on the box, but did not explain the presence of a man as merchandise. A demand was then made for the occupant of the box to explain matters or they would open fire upon it. "Don't shoot, I can explain everything satisfactorily, if you will open up." It was with considerable timidity and fearfulness that the expressman opened the box while the telegraph operator kept it covered with the pistol. On being released the occupant seated himself on his late habitation, of which the following is a summary:

My name is Horace Buell, and I have relatives living in Manhattan. From my early youth I have displayed wonderful talent for art. Believing that there was a field open for me in the larger cities I sought a situation, and for a time was successful, but I lost my health, and being severely distressed and in need, resolved to return home. Too proud to write for means to defray my expenses, I hit upon the plan which has landed me here tonight, thirty-six hours from Chicago. The way I managed to get billed out of the city was very easy. I called at the main office and told them I had a box which I wished to ship to Manhattan, giving instructions where it could be found. I then packed myself in it and was soon speeding westward. Once I was left in a car for some time alone, and had a chance to stretch myself. Before entering the box I supplied myself with sufficient crackers and cheese to sustain me for four days, and suffered only for water. I don't feel much worse for the trip, it was an easy matter to brace myself in the box so I would not be injured.

The contents then expressed a disposition to saunter up town and inform its friends of safe arrival, but the messenger questioned the propriety of this procedure, as his instructions stated positively that he would be held responsible for loss of "livestock" or other merchandise after its delivery into his hands—unless he could give satisfactory explanation. Therefore, under pressing persuasion the contents concluded to remain until morning, when a large, square store box was hauled up street by Joe Parkerson, and the contents meandered along under the protection of the messenger. The fare from Chicago to Manhattan is \$17.25. The cost of the trip would foot up to:

Express	\$9.25
One store box.....	2.00
One pair hinges.....	.50
Crackers and cheese.....	1.00
Wear and tear of clothes.....	.01
 Total cost.....	 \$12.76

The contents saved the enormous sum of \$4.49—and if any messenger on the train had discovered him, the funeral expenses would have amounted to more than that.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Official marriage records of Clark county from July, 1885, to December, 1903, were printed in *The Clark County Clipper* of Ashland, March 4-June 3, 1943. The series was a feature of the historical column conducted by Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder and Mrs. Melville Campbell Harper for the Clark County Historical Society.

The history of Kansas Wesleyan University at Salina was briefly reviewed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 21, 1943. The Northwest Kansas Conference of the Methodist church planned the school in 1883, but it was 1886 before a sufficient start had been made to admit students.

Letters from Sen. M. V. B. Van De Mark published in the Clyde *Republican* sketched the early history of Clyde in the issues of April 1 and 8, 1943, and of Ames in the April 15 number. Senator Van De Mark also furnished the *Republican* a copy of the "Early Recollections of Clyde and Cloud County," by John B. Rupe, which was published in the Clyde *Herald* in 1879 and 1880 and is being republished serially in the *Republican* beginning April 22.

Victor Murdock's column in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* in recent months included the following items of historical interest: "Old Trail to Wichita Down From Chase County Was Important Channel," May 1, 1943; "Locating the Areas Producing Broom Corn Scattered Over West," May 8; "Pioneer Method Used in Making Buffalo Skin Into a Beautiful Robe," May 10; "How First Houses Here Were Made by Wichitas and What They Contained," May 11; "Feast on the Prairies Wherein the Sand Plum Formed the First Course," May 12; "One Discovery of Oil in This Part of Country Dates Back 70 Years," May 17; "Description of Wolves That Once Frequent Plains Around Wichita," May 19; "Suffering on Plains Among Western Indians in the Winter of 1872-73," May 20; "One Early Institution in the Wichita Country Was the 'Ranche House,'" May 21; "Debt the Prairies Owe to the War Veterans Who Tackled New Land," May 29; "Last Use of Doctrine About Land in Oklahoma Preached by Capt. [David L.] Payne," June 1; "Early Men of Religion Who Pressed Westward Out on Empty Prairies," June 3; "When Change of Attitude Occurred in These Parts in Choosing Town Names," June 7; "Homes Pre-Fabricated That Showed Up

Here at a Very Early Period," June 8; "Early Wichita Contact With Vivid Recollection of the War With Mexico," June 9; "Act of Exploration Marked on the Prairies by Stimulus of Discovery," June 10; "Flour Milling Start in This Part of World Began With Settlement," June 14; "Record of a Buffalo Hunt When Four Pioneer Women Each Brought Down Bison," June 17; "Use of Prairie Wind by Early Day Kansans to Drive Their Wagon," June 18; "Passed Out of Picture in the Prairie Empire Is Art of Townsite Choice," June 19; "One Thumb-Nail Sketch of Wichita, Fall, 1869, Survived in a Letter," June 21; "Features That Marked Early Fourth of July in This Part of Country," June 22; "Fight Wherein Settler in the Prairie Region Showed Real Stamina," June 23; "One Pioneer Passion Grew Out of the Fever For Picking Townsites," June 24; "Section of Land Here [Municipal Airport] in Sensational Switch From One Use to Another," June 25; "Early Settler Tempted to Try Wheat Out Here by Very Good Corn Crop," June 30; "Prairies' Drawing Power as It Was Demonstrated in Early Days in Kansas," July 1; "When Meat in This Area Was Drug on the Market and Left to the Coyote," July 2; "Life of Military Genius [William Tecumseh Sherman] Who Had Successful Year Running Big Kansas Farm [in 1859]," July 5; "Spot West of Eureka That Affords a View of Surpassing Beauty," July 9; "Cotton Start Made Here That Did Not Pan Out; an Early Day Incident," July 12; "Traces Wichitas Left When They Were Pressed to Abandon Village Sites," July 13; "City-Creating Passion That Pressed Pioneers to Fulfillment of Vision," July 14; "Fight That Wichita Had Over Building a School Replacing Early Edifice," July 15; "Memories of Oklahoma Have Enriched the Life of Many a Wichitan," July 16; "Change in Countryside Around Young Wichita in Its First Ten Years," July 17; "Insight That Is Given Into Oklahoma's Start Through Kansan's Memory [Boyhood Recollection of George C. Snell]," July 21; "Allure of the Prairie That Caused Pioneers to Make Settlement Here," July 22; "When Wichita Was Ten Community Already Felt That It Was Growing Old," July 23; "Old Tintype Found Here After Seventy Full Years Had Not Lost Its Luster," July 24; "Account of an Elk Hunt in This Part of the West Found Permanent Record," July 26; "Striking Pioneer Figure That Was Presented by Thomas Fitzpatrick," July 27, and "Memory of a Wichitan [Harry Bybee] of Skeleton Creek Ranch [Present Enid, Okla.] During Its Final Days," July 30.

The early history of Shawnee county was briefly reviewed by George A. Root, of the Historical Society staff, in an interview published in the *Topeka State Journal*, May 12, 1943.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "[Frank Carlson] Author of Pay-As-You-Go Tax Bill Is 'Just a Country Boy' From Kansas," by Alvin S. McCoy, May 13, 1943; "The 'Get-Up-And-Git' Eisenhower Boy Takes Road Back Home to Kansas," by Frank I. Weller, May 19; "[Florence] 'Big Flurry' Driscoll and His Kansas Family," by P. V. M., May 22; "Abilene Is Doubly Proud Now as Eisenhowers' Town," by C. M. Harger, June 27; "The Typical General's Lady Is Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower," by Malvina Stephenson, and "Kansas Women Are Doing Big Share of Wheat Harvest Work," July 11.

Histories of Saints Peter and Paul Church near Kinsley appeared in the *Kinsley Mercury*, May 27 and June 3, 1943. The church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary June 1.

Kansas historical articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* in recent months include: "John C. Fremont Left This Settlement to Open the West 100 Years Ago Today," by Paul I. Wellman, May 29, 1943, and "Wellsville, Kas., Is Learning to Live With Japanese in Relocation Experiment," by Helen J. Crissman, June 4.

A paper written in 1896 by Judge James S. Emery of Lawrence dealing with John Brown and a "lost speech" made by Abraham Lincoln at Bloomington, Ill., in 1856, was printed in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 31, 1943. Emery wrote as a pioneer who had witnessed or participated in many of the events in Lawrence and Kansas which occupied the attention of the nation. He was a native of New England and came to Kansas in 1854 with the Second Party sponsored by the Emigrant Aid Co.

June 1, 1943, was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Girard Town Company and the beginning of the sale of town lots to prospective builders. Articles reviewing the early history of the city appeared in the *Girard Press*, June 3, and the *Pittsburg Headlight*, June 7.

W. W. Graves, the well-known Catholic and Indian historian of southeast Kansas and editor of the *St. Paul Journal*, has begun a history of Neosho county which is running serially in the *Journal* beginning June 3, 1943. Mr. Graves will later publish the work in

book form. In the issue of July 29 Mr. Graves announced that the *Journal* would celebrate its seventy-fifth birthday August 6. The envy of fellow editors is a card index of happenings of interest to residents of the St. Paul community which Mr. Graves has built up in the forty-eight years he has been identified with the paper.

On June 5, 1943, the Independence *Daily Reporter* issued a 36-page special edition announcing the opening of the Independence Army Air Field for public inspection the following day. The edition contained numerous pictures and articles illustrating and explaining the work at the base.

"West Plains Named for Prairies," was the title of an article in the Meade *Globe-News*, June 10, 1943, discussing the origin of Kansas town names.

A three-column review of the history of the Girard Christian Church appeared in the *Girard Press*, June 10, 1943. Christian church services were first held in the town in 1870 and the church was organized in 1871. Pictures of the three buildings the church has occupied were featured.

"History of *The Leader-Courier* Woven Into Progress of Community," is the title of an article by Ralph T. Baker, editor of the Kingman *Leader-Courier*, published June 11, 1943, in observance of the newspaper's sixty-fifth anniversary. Baker quoted J. C. Martin editor of the Kingman *Mercury*, the *Leader-Courier*'s predecessor, as saying: "The first paper started in Leavenworth was printed under a tree; but the first paper started in Kingman county was not, for the reason that the tree had yet to be grown." The *Mercury* was established June 14, 1878, as the county's first newspaper, when the town of Kingman consisted of only five houses. A letter from Logan Martin, son of J. C. Martin, briefly reviewing the life of his father, was printed in *The Leader-Courier*, June 25.

The history of the Sterling City Library, as compiled by Mrs. F. W. Ross and read at a reception June 1, 1943, celebrating the library's twenty-fifth anniversary in its present building, was published in the Sterling *Kansas Bulletin*, June 17, 1943. The library was organized in 1902 by the Sterling Sorosis Club.

The biography of Edward J. Butt who has lived in Leavenworth since his birth, on June 27, 1868, was sketched in the Leavenworth *Times*, June 27, 1943.

A column article entitled "McPherson's First Fourth of July Celebration in 1876 Was Different," by Mrs. Jessie Hill Rowland, appeared in the McPherson *Daily Republican*, July 5, 1943.

"Early Day Newspapers Throw Light on Overbrook History" was the title of an article in the Overbrook *Citizen*, July 8, 1943.

Phil Noon, who arrived in Lincoln county in the fall of 1867, remembers seeing such notables in Junction City, Fort Riley and Fort Harker as Generals U. S. Grant, Phil Sheridan, George Custer, and Scouts "Wild Bill" Hickok and "Buffalo Bill" Cody. His reminiscences appeared in *The Lincoln County News*, Lincoln, July 8, 1943, under the title, "Recalls Gen. Custer's Visits to Cavalry Camp on Spillman."

The Robinson *Index*, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in July, 1943, reviewed the early history of Robinson in its issues of July 8 and 15.

A visit of a rainmaker to Lincoln in the 1890's was recalled in *The Lincoln County News*, Lincoln, July 15, 1943. Rain fell in the required time and the rainmaker collected, the *News* reported.

"Ed Gorsuch Remembers Early History of Waverly and Ohio Days Entertainment," was the title of an article in the *Waverly Gazette*, July 22, 1943.

In an article entitled "Some Early Olathe History," appearing in *The Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, July 22, 1943, Frank Hodges told about "desperate Bill Lafaythe," a notorious criminal raised on the Black Bob reservation eight miles southeast of Olathe, and Quantrill's raid on the town in September, 1862.

The history of *The Daily Tiller and Toiler* of Larned was briefly reviewed in its tenth anniversary edition July 23, 1943.

A Lawrence room in the Watson library at Kansas University, established by the late Carrie M. Watson, was described in a feature article in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, July 24, 1943.

The Wichita *Sunday Beacon* observed its fifteenth anniversary under the management of Max, Louis and John Levand by issuing a 132-page edition July 25, 1943, featuring numerous articles and photographs illustrating the city's industries, institutions, stores, and war-time growth.

The Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, July 25, 1943, printed a 100-page anniversary edition commemorating 71 years of service. Victor Mur-

dock's statement on "Wheat" published in the anniversary number of the *Eagle* six years ago, and his article entitled "Flour Milling Start in This Part of the World Began With Settlement," were reprinted. Among other historical features were: "Found in the Files of the *Eagle*"; "City Government Is on Threshold of New Development"; "Happening of Nearly Quarter Century Ago Influenced Rise of Wichita in Aviation World"; "Wichita Is Nerve Center of Huge Aircraft Production"; "Wichita's Livestock Market in Operation For 50 Years"; "Wichita Has Important Role in Milling Industry of State"; "Wichita Continues Its Big Strides in Financial World"; "Wichita . . . Financial and Industrial Progress," by W. B. Harrison; "Six Priests of Wichita Diocese Elevated to Monsignorial Ranks by Pope Pius XII," and "Independence Day Is Historic One For Wichita Diocese." Other articles pertained to Wichita's merchants, plans of Kansas wildcatters, Wichita's wartime athletic program, dairy industry, insurance, oil refining, expansion of war plants, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., churches, Boy Scouts, community war chest, Wichita hospitals and doctors.

A report of Manhattan's part in the war was featured in the annual "Progress Edition" of *The Morning Chronicle*, July 25, 1943, and the *Mercury*, July 26. Among the articles of historical interest were: "Men O' War"; "Kansas Aviation Training Pilots," by Marjorie Marlette; "Glowing Reports of Kansas Given in Letters Written by [I. T.] Goodnows, July, 1855," by Marietta McLeod; "Public Library Serves People For 53 Years," by Anna N. Muller; "1903 Flood a Calamity to Manhattanites; Revive Legend as Rivers Rise"; "Bomber Named For Dick Jacord, Local Air Hero"; "Sunset Cemetery a Place of History"; "Isaac T. Goodnow, Years Before Florida, Made Manhattan Center of a Worth-While Land 'Boom'"'; "[Julia Louisa] Lovejoy Chronicle Tells of Early Hardships Over Settling Manhattan City"; "City's and County's Young Men Fight For Their Uncle Sam"; "Pioneers Worked Hard to Make Manhattan a Finer City in Which to Reside"; "Manhattan Loses Battle For the State University"; "Kansas State Schools Aid in the War Effort"; "Farrell Sees Changes in 25 Years at Kansas State," by F. D. Farrell; "[Milton] Eisenhower to Replace F. D. Farrell in September"; "Twenty-Five Years' Service to City; Chamber of Commerce in Leadership," and "Building an Ever-Normal Soil Fertility in Kansas."

Several persons in Minneapolis still remember when the late George Washington Carver attended school in that town. An article in the Salina *Journal*, July 29, 1943, entitled "Minneapolis Clings to Its Memories of George Carver," quotes from letters of Mr. Carver to friends in Kansas.

"Jesse Greenleaf Tells of Pioneer Days Out Where the West Begins," was the title of a feature published in *The Kiowa County Signal* of Greensburg, July 29 and August 5, 1943. Mr. Greenleaf, with his parents, went from Ohio to Kiowa county over sixty years ago, and the article was based on the story of his early-day experiences.

"They Took Refuge at Ft. Larned in '78," is the caption of an article in *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, of Larned, July 30, 1943. It dealt with the flight of Mrs. H. B. Farnsworth (the former Ethel Reeder) and her parents to the security of the army post when Chief Dull Knife and his Cheyenne warriors were raiding through Kansas.

A history of the Hogan Mills on the Smoky Hill river at Junction City in an article entitled "Hogan Mills an Outgrowth of Water Power Grant to C. Fogarty in 1873," was printed in the Junction City *Union*, July 30, 1943. In 1886 a turbine water wheel and other equipment were installed and the mills furnished the city its first electric current. The construction of the dam at the mills was described by Henry Thiele in an article in the *Union*, August 21.

The Junction City *Republic* issued a special edition August 5, 1943, celebrating its seventieth anniversary. Several pictures of early-day Junction City were featured and included among the special articles were: "Inside Story of the *Davis County Republican*," by C. H. Manley, Jr., Junction City publisher for over forty years; "Kansas in the '70's," by Will Roux, and "Geary County, Junction City and Fort Riley," by Editor Henry C. Sticher.

Some of Washington Kennedy's reminiscences of fighting along the Kansas-Missouri border in the Civil War were recorded by Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver in the Mullinville *News*, August 19, 1943. Mrs. Weaver wrote that Mr. Kennedy, who settled in Kiowa county in 1878, is "the oldest pioneer" there.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Wichita Public Museum, located in the Forum building, has made rapid growth since it was started several years ago, and its rooms are now open to the public every week-day afternoon. Officers of the museum association, most of whom were re-elected at the annual meeting April 1, 1943, include: O. A. Boyle, president; Dr. Jesse Clyde Fisher, first vice-president; Carl E. Bitting, second vice-president; Harry Overend, secretary; H. D. Lester, treasurer, and Mrs. Frank Slay, curator. The elected trustees are Omrah Aley, Henry J. Allen, Carl E. Bitting, O. A. Boyle, R. M. Cauthorn, Mrs. E. G. Cone, John P. Davidson, Dr. Jesse Clyde Fisher, Bertha V. Gardner, Mrs. Wallace E. Haines, L. A. Heckard, Dr. H. C. Holmes, Robt. E. Israel, Sr., H. D. Lester, Dick Long, John D. McEwen, Eva Minnich, Mrs. Frank Slay and Harry Overend. R. M. Cauthorn is the retiring secretary.

"Every article in the Augusta Historical Museum is connected in some manner with the early history of Augusta," the *Augusta Daily Gazette* reported in its issue of June 18, 1943, announcing the opening of the museum on Sundays for the summer season.

A preview of the newly-restored Iowa, Sac and Fox mission near Highland was given members of Kiwanis clubs of northeast Kansas when a picnic was held on the grounds July 7, 1943. Over 150 persons accepted the invitation of officials of the Northeast Kansas Historical Society and the Highland Kiwanis Club to inspect the property recently acquired and restored by the state. Despite the labor and material shortages which came with the war the reconstruction was completed and the building has been saved from further deterioration. Landscaping is planned and a museum has already been started. Mrs. C. C. Webb, of Highland, is chairman, and Mrs. Fenn Ward, of Highland, is secretary of the board of trustees which represents the state in the care of the property. For the present the building will be opened for public inspection on Sunday afternoons from one to six.

The 141st anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Thomas Johnson, founder of Shawnee Methodist Mission, was observed at the mission in Johnson county with an all-day memorial program July 11, 1943. During the program a wreath was laid on the Rev. Mr. Johnson's grave in Pioneer cemetery, southeast of the mission. About 500

persons, including Frank C. Wornall, grandson of Johnson, were in attendance. The services were sponsored by the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, Old Mission Parish Methodist Church, and the Greater Kansas City Council of the American Pioneer Trails Association. Mrs. J. W. Quarrier was general chairman.

A memorial to George Grant, founder of the British colony at Victoria and first to import Aberdeen-Angus cattle to the United States, has been erected near the colony's old cemetery at Victoria. The monument was sponsored by the American Aberdeen-Angus Breeders' Association; the Kansas Aberdeen-Angus Association; the Kansas Livestock Association; the Kansas State Historical Society; the Kansas State Board of Agriculture; Grant descendants; the Philip family and public-spirited citizens of Ellis county. Speakers at the dedicatory ceremony August 4, 1943, included William Ljungdahl, Topeka, chairman of the Kansas State Commission of Revenue and Taxation; Bishop Shirley H. Nichols, Salina; Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, lieutenant governor of Kansas; James G. Tomson, Wakarusa, president Kansas Livestock Association; Johnson Workman, Russell, of the Kansas Aberdeen-Angus Association; John Brown, Rose Hill, Iowa, president American Aberdeen-Angus Breeders' Association; H. E. Floyd, Topeka, editor of *The Kansas Stockman*; Kirke Mechem, Topeka, secretary Kansas State Historical Society; W. H. Tomhave, Chicago, Ill., secretary American Aberdeen-Angus Breeders' Association, and Will J. Miller, Topeka, Kansas State Livestock Sanitary Commissioner. Mrs. W. D. Philip, of Hays, supervised the arrangements. The following inscription appears on the marker:

To THE MEMORY OF
GEORGE GRANT
(1822-1878)
FOUNDER OF THE BRITISH COLONY
VICTORIA, KANSAS.

THE FIRST ABERDEEN-ANGUS CATTLE IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED STATES WERE BROUGHT TO THIS LOCALITY BY MR. GRANT ON MAY 17, 1873. HIS FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURE AND STOCK RAISING IN WESTERN KANSAS, EVIDENCED BY THE PURCHASE OF NEARLY 100,000 ACRES FROM THE KANSAS PACIFIC RAILROAD, HELPED PROMOTE THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THIS REGION.

Roy W. Stookey, state architect, and Nyle H. Miller, research director of the Kansas State Historical Society, met with members of the executive committee of the Washington County Oregon Trail

Memorial Association at Hanover, August 5, 1943. The Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station was inspected and plans were made to continue the restoration work on the building and the landscaping of the grounds. The Pony Express, which operated from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast in 1860-1861, used the ranch house as a station, and it is unique among the few such buildings yet remaining in the United States in that it has been so little altered. Travelers knew the place as Cottonwood ranch and cottonwood trees are to be a part of the decorative planting. The property is state owned, and is managed as a state park by the Washington County Oregon Trail Association through its president, Leo E. Dieker, editor of the Hanover *Democrat*.

Paul W. Gates, of the American history department at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., has spent considerable time in Washington, D. C., and in mid-Western states making a systematic investigation to determine the extent to which speculators intervened between the government and actual settlers in the disposal of the public domain. The Cornell University Press recently published his 265-page "study in land policy and absentee ownership" entitled *The Wisconsin Pine Lands of Cornell University*. Other work is to follow either in separate magazine articles or in books. Mr. Gates has visited this state several times in recent years studying land policies in early-day Kansas. One of his papers, "A Fragment of Kansas Land History: The Disposal of the Christian Indian Tract," was published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI, pp. 227-240.



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Contributors

Biographical mention of JOHN FERGUSON will be found on pp. 339, 340.

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN, of La Porte, Ind., is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

STANLEY CLARK is a price specialist in the Office of Price Administration, Oklahoma City, Okla.

ENS. JOSEPHINE LOUISE BARRY, USNR, a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society on leave, is now stationed at Washington, D. C.

The Letters of John Ferguson, Early Resident of Western Washington County

I. INTRODUCTION

ABOUT 1859 John Ferguson, a native of Ireland, settled on Mill creek in the extreme western part of present Washington county.¹ Previous to coming to Kansas he lived in Haddam, Conn. He was among the first settlers in this region which was, at that time, on the fringe of civilization.

Immediately to the west were the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and other wild tribes known as the Plains Indians. During the 1860's these Indians were unusually hostile and made frequent raids upon the unprotected settlers.² Bands of Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians went on the warpath in the spring of 1864, and Ferguson's house was one of the first to be plundered.³ With many of the men serving in the Civil War and those who remained at home without adequate arms, the settlers were obliged to leave their claims and seek places of safety. Many left permanently. Although Ferguson suffered severe losses in these raids he always returned to his claim, and by hard work and industry became a well-to-do farmer.

In 1880 he owned 380 acres of land and livestock to the value of \$800.⁴ He was interested in community affairs and served as justice of the peace and county assessor. He also was elected several times a delegate to the Republican county convention.⁵ As the region became more settled he may have felt crowded, for in 1883 he sold his farm,⁶ and in March of the next year moved to Oregon.⁷ The editor of the *Washington Republican* wrote of him: "Mr. Ferguson has been a number one citizen of Washington county for many years, and we will be very sorry to lose him."⁸

Ferguson kept in touch with his Connecticut friends by corresponding with Cephas Brainard, his former employer. A few of the

1. "70th Anniversary Edition," supplement to *The Washington County Register*, Washington, September 16, 1938, p. 81.

2. The Plains Indians had been held in check by United States soldiers stationed at military posts along the frontier. The withdrawal of these troops at the outbreak of the Civil War left the forts but weakly garrisoned, and exposed travel, commerce and the settlers along the border to the ravages of the hostile tribes.

3. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1055.

4. "Agriculture Census, 1880," Washington county, Mill Creek township, p. 1.—Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

5. *Washington Republican*, May 26, 1882; October 12, 1883.

6. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1883.

7. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1884.

8. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1884.

Ferguson letters came to the Kansas State Historical Society through Brainard's daughter, Eveline W., of Haddam, Conn. They are interesting because they give some of the experiences of a settler on the extreme frontier at an early date. The letters are reproduced here practically without change except for occasional corrections in spelling for the sake of clarity.

II. THE LETTERS

Washington Washington Co Kan June 9th/61

Friend Cephas

Well Cephas I expect you will be begining to think that I am not going to send this mortgage back but it is all right and has been for some time but I couldent rease the money to pay for geting it exicuted but I expect you have enough to think about without thinking about it You are having exciting times as is all over the Countary if I had been only living in Connecticut this spring I would now been at Washington by this time with my musket but I gues[s] I will have enough to do here as the rebbals is arming and equiping the Indians to come on to us but if the[y] whip Kansas out the[y] will have a job of it for we have suffered enough in Kansas to make us fight like demons we did have a tremendous hard winter of it it was all the best of them could do to live it through and if it hadent been for the aid we got from the east a great many would have starved to Death but there was a great deal of partiality used⁹ Some got more than the[y] could use and others got verry little but if crops turns out as well as the[y] look now we wont need any aid another year for I never saw a better prospect for a crop in no Countary than there is here now every thing looks splendid wheat espeshialy it is headed out now and looks nice and there is a great deal of it sowed

now as to what I am doing I didnt do any thing from Christmas to March and since March I have been at home to now I have got in three acers of wheat and about fifteen acers of corn and I have made a rease of a breaking team and am now breaking Prairey I am going to Breake up and improve about fifty acers this year my team is three large yoke of oxin such as we used to drive from

9. This winter followed the drought of 1860, when for more than sixteen months, from June 19, 1859, to November, 1860, scarcely enough rain fell at any one time to wet the earth two inches in depth.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 178. An appeal was made to the more prosperous states for aid, and great amounts of provisions, clothing and money were sent to relieve the sufferers. Samuel C. Pomeroy was made the receiving agent, and Atchison was named the receiving point. There were complaints, however, that favoritism was shown in the distribution of the goods.—*Kansas Historical Collections* (Topeka, 1906), v. IX, pp. 480-485.

Turkey hill you know when we used to hall them big logs and once in a while get stalled and breake down a wheel and so forth

Well Cephas when you write to me let me know if any of the boys I know has gon to the warr and how do you think it is going to turn out

This mortgage I send with this and as soon as you get it let me know if it is through all right No more at Preasent

From your Friend

John Ferguson

Washington Washington County Ks

Mill Creack Washington, Co. Ks

July 20th/61

Friend Cephas

I received two letters from you this week and I was glad to hear from you and that you were all well and I expect by this time you are in old Haddam [Conn.] and I know you will enjoy your visit I wish I could be there to[o] a little while but cant now but expect to be some day if I am prospered and dont get scalped by the Indians as things looks rather squaley just now we are expecting them in on us every day I dont know how we will make out we have neather got arms nor ammunition to fight them with nor cant get them the secessionist has furnished the wild Indians with arms and ammunition to hunt us out of Kansas a great many are leaving with fear there was four tribes met and held a counsel forty miles west of my place last week¹⁰ and what the[y] are going to do there cant no body tell but if we only had arms and ammunition we could take care of them without any trouble but as it is I am afraid we will loose our stock and crops by them I am going to sea the wers of it before I leave my crop for it look to[o] well to be scared away from it

Well as far as crops is here the[y] look spleandid corn crop especiaaly it goes far ahead of any I have ever seen and wheat has done verry well it is all harvested and I have got mine stacked I had one hundred shock so I dont expect to have to live on corn meal another year unles the Indians burns it up and if the[y] do I will get me a horse and a sharps rifle and hunt Indians and secessionasts for the next six months and shoot every on[e] I get my eye on.

10. Probably refers to a large number of Otoe, Omaha, Arapaho, Cheyenne and Kiowa Indians, numbering six or seven thousand, reported by Col. S. H. Barber to be encamped near Lake Sibley (present Cloud county) about this time. On breaking up their encampment the Indians moved farther west, but not without greatly alarming the frontier settlers, some of whom left as a consequence.—*Western Kansas Express*, Manhattan, August 17, 1861.

If we could only get arms and ammunition here we could take care of our selves powder is worth two Dolars per pound and the one third of the men hasent got guns we have applied to the governer for arms but he says he hasent got any there is some snakes in the grass here but if the[y] are the[y] darsent even *cis* if the[y] did we would just treat them as we do snakes when we come across them And I think that is to[o] good for them

Now as to what I have been doing this summer I have been breaking prarey the most of the time for so far

there was a young man a Germin that I got aquainted with last winter that has gon into partenership with me he took a claim joining mine and we work together I have got two yoke of oxin and him one that makes a good team I payed for one yoke of oxin in Breacking prairey this summer I am going to Breacking on my own next week I want to get all I can broke at home now for the breacking season is mos[t] over now for this year it wont do after July when I have been away breacking Edward H. Newman has been at hom[e] attending to the crop that is the name of my partener he is a firstrate steady quiet young man about twenty five years of age came to this Countary when he was ten years old and lived in Iowa ever since we have got about sixteen acers of corn that looks Buncom I telle you about one acer of potatos one acre of shugar cane half a acre of beans and so forth. I want to sow five or six acres of rye this fall if I can make out to get it

You wanted to know how many Neighbours I had I had a good many last summer but not many now and I am glad the[y] have gon[e] as I think there will be some good ones come back in there place what is left is Pretty good Neighbours there is six famillys all within three miles of me and the center of the county is pretty well setteled an on to where I am but non[e] west of me to you get to the republican river, but if we had reased crops last year this countary would been all setteled up west of me fifty miles before this time there is some splendid claiimes here with from one to two hundred Dolars worth of improvement done on that people has left never to come back to I dont suppose You speak of us having a church to go to and Sabbath School there is a Sunday school started this summer about fifteen miles from me but I havent been able to attend yet we have preaching once in two weeks eight miles from me

I wish you would send me a tribune¹¹ once in a while and I want you to send me an American Mesengar for I havent seen one for about three years as soon as I get able I am going to subscribe for one or two papers I havent got room to say near all I want to give my best respects to Messes Brainard & Martha & Cynthia, and I will write soon again if nothing happens. Write me as soon as you can and let me know how the war is going on and when you write let me know how old your grandmother is

Good by for the preasent

John Ferguson

Mill Creak, December 23th/62
Washington Co. K. S.

Friend Cephas

About four weeks ago yesterday I was to Athison and purtched a draft of one hundred and fifty Dolars and mailed it to you in the letter I told you I would write you when I got home but I have neglected it to now but I hope you have got it all right I told you the reason I hadent wrote to you sooner I have been drove round all summer from hak to busard by those infernal Indians I left home twice on account of them and I havent moved my wife home yet and I dont expect to till I see what the[y] are going to do next spring if the goverment dont send us some help next summer we will all have to leave here or at least we will have to move our families and loose stock out of there way as I told you in my last letter the Indians killed the best ox that I had this fall and I woudent grudge to give another ox if the[y] could be stoped not to take any more from me or my neighbours the country is in an aful state and when is it going to be any better I am afraid if this war isent closed this winter that there will be a general outbrake amongst the Indians west of here this coming summer I hope not but things looks rather squaley I am going to prepare for it I am going [to] keep my family out of there reach and I am bound myself to stand to I sea the skalping knife used for all I have got is here and I have had hard work to get what I have and I am bound to stand by it and if I loose it I will go with it

As I told you in my last letter I had sold forty acres of my land and rented my place for another year I reased a good crop of corn this year and it is going to bring a good deal better price than it did last year I believe I can keep two teams hawling all next

11. Probably Horace Greeley's New York Tribune.

summer to Fort Karney¹² but we cant haul in winter on account of feed for our oxin So this winter I havent done anything as yet we havent had any cold weather yet we havent had the ground whitened with snow this winter yet and I expect we are going to have a grean Christmas

Well if you have got my other letter you know that my wife has had a fine girl but we cant agree about the name I am going to name it for eather Martha or Cynthia and when you write to me let me know what Marthas middle name is I dont recolect what the E stands for

I wanted you to let me know if there was any warrants in market there now and what the[y] were worth I havent had a paper now for the last two months I am now looking every mail for an answer to my letter I sent you

Give my best respects to Misses Brainard and Martha and Cynthia

My wife and Baby is well

From your Sincere Friend

John Ferguson

Washington Washington Co. Ks.

Fort Desmoine Iowa September 30th 64

Frien[d] Cephas

I once more write you a few lines to let you know of my whereabouts I presume you have heard of the Indians Deperadations on the little Blue in Kansas and Neberasky¹³ that is the caus[e] of my being in Iowa I left Kansas about the first of this month and it is going to pretty near break me up I had forty acers of first rate corn besides other crops in proportion and had to leave the hoal and come out heare and have to work for to pay for wintering my stock what I have left I think it is pretty tough I think it strange that goverment wont protect settelars from those Indians the Indians has to masacrea four, or five hundred whites before the[y] will do anything with them about one half of the Men that went into the service from North Western Kansas went in with

12. During the years 1862, 1863, and 1864 the farmers living along Mill creek hauled their corn to market to Fort Kearny (present Nebraska), a distance of about 150 miles. They received from \$1.50 to \$3 per bushel.—"70th Anniversary Edition" of *The Washington County Register*, September 16, 1938, p. 7.

13. In August, 1864, Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians made a raid on settlers in the Little Blue valley. Several white persons were killed and considerable damage was done in southern Nebraska. Most of the settlers in Washington county fled to Marysville, where they held a public meeting to discuss ways and means for self-protection. Scouts were hired to scour the country and report any trace of the enemy. Later the Indians were pursued by the state militia and were pushed toward the source of the Republican.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1056.

the expectation of being plased on the fronteer to protect it and instead of that the[y] have been sent down to Arkansas and Mississipia and I am afraid that Lincoln is going to loose a good many votes this fall on account of it but Kansas will go Lincoln and no mistake but where I am now I have got into a nest of copperheads I loose my vote here but I am going to do all I can for Lincoln if you get this in time to send me before election the report of the congressional committee on the army of the Potomic why [Gen. George B.] McClellan was removed, How to prosecute and how to end the war speach by General Butlar those or any other I want to convince some of those McClelland men that he isent what the[y] think he is I cant do any thing at the balat Box but I am going to do all I can every other way Well Cephas I expect to stay here to Spring I am going back to Kansas as soon as those Indians is drove out and its safe to stay there this trip has been over a thousand Dolars dammage to me my neighbourhood in Kansas was gro[w]ing and improving fast this summer we had suceeded in geting a post office estabellished within one mile of my house and I suckseeded in geting it named *Haddam*¹⁴ so I expect to live in Haddam when I go back to Kansas.

the crops throught the west is verry light this season on account of dry weather My family is well give My best respects to your wife and Martha & Cynthia

Please write soon to your Old Friend

John Ferguson

Direct to Fort Desmoins

Iowa for Me

Haddam Washington Co. Ks. Sep. 9th 1867

Friend Cephas

I will try to let you know how I am geting along the Indian excitment is greater now than it has been since I have been here I have been looking for the redskined Deavels in on us every day for the last month the[y] have been in and killed settelars twenty miles north of me and carried off[f] gerls prisoners¹⁵ the people here is living in constant dread of being attacted by them every

14. Haddam post office is listed in the *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States, . . . 1865* (Washington, 1866), p. 113, and *ibid.*, for 1867, p. 428. O. S. Canfil was postmaster. The town of Haddam, however, is supposed to date from the fall of 1869 when J. W. Taylor started a store upon land donated by George Canfil. About the same time A. Whitney commenced a rival town of Haddam a short distance west. For five years there was rivalry between the two towns. In 1874 a change came when Whitney sold his store to H. H. Cheney who removed it to present Haddam and West Haddam ceased to exist.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1060.

15. Ferguson undoubtedly refers here to the Indian depredations in present Thayer county, Nebraska, in the summer of 1867.

day the settelars cant verry well leave the[y] have reased good fare crops of wheat and corn there is no market we cant sell it and the most of them thinks as I do that we may as well stay here with what we have got and run the risk of being skalped as leave it as for me I have lost over a thousand Dolars runing from Indians in the last five years and I am going to stand by what I have got now to the last minet I have reased about two hundred Bushals of wheat and four of oats this year with twenty acers of corn that is pretty good but since the travel stopep on those western roads we have got no market for anything Money is geting tight out here more so than it has ever been since I have been [here] and what we have to buy out of the stores is verry high for instance Caligos the poorast artical twenty and twenty five cents per yard coffy forty cents per pound tea two Dolars and eighty cents per pound and every thing else in proportion wheat and corn there is no sale for at no price Kattel is high and good market beef buyers round the country but there is few peopel here has got a start of kattel yet so the[y] can sell the Atchison and Pikes Peak road will be compleated within forty miles of me this fall¹⁶ and next summer it will be as fare as here if the[y] go on with it and then I think things will look briter those Indian raids has poot a stagnation on every thing here now if this Atchison road comes through here as I expect it will I am going to sell out and come back to the Connecticut river to live land has come up as far as the road has come that is well improved to about \$25.00 per acer my land is assesed this year at six Dolars per acer and is worth about ten well Cephas I have been close at home all this summer as teaming is played out here and my wife has been sick most all summer her health is verry poor and I have broke my selph down a good deal since I came here by teaming on the road and laying out nights and being exposed to all weathers but if I am spared as soon as I think I can sell out for enough to come back east and live without working so hard I am going to do it so I can give my children a good education for I think that is better than land for them I sea the nead of it out here the one fifth of the men out here cant right [sic] or cipher I was elected last spring as Justice of the Peace in this township so you may know by that that the men out here isent non the smartest or I wouldest been picked on to fill that office for I am shure I ent fit for it

16. The Atchison and Pike's Peak railroad (now the Missouri Pacific) was completed from Atchison to present Waterville, a distance of 100 miles, on January 20, 1868.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 922.

I expect old Haddam is still on the Conn river yet I presume you have been up there [t]his summer and [had] a pleasant time I do wish I could have been there with you and had a good mess of cherrys of[f] some of those young trees of yours never mind I will be there some day if I live for there is where the happiest Days of my life was spent and I hope there is where I will spend my last give my best respects to Misses Brainard and also to Martha & Cynthia give me all the knews that from H-

from your friend and best well isher

John Ferguson

Haddam Washington Co Kansas March 29: 68
Friend Cephas

I suppose you will think by my silence that I have forgotten you but I havent by any means I have poot off[f] sending you this Money so long that I have been ashamed to write you but if you get this all right I shall write you oftener I told you in my last letter that I had been elected Justice of the Peace and I had to buy several Books to inform my self a littel on law Matters and the[y] have cost me conciderable money and I was also elected County Assessor last fall for two years

Well Cephas I have had an addition to my family since you heard from me I ent so lucky as you for mines all girls I have one consolation the boys will come to sea me some day thise one is thre months old the 15th of this month and named Alphadora my wife has been having poor health for a long time but she is geting pretty smart again

we are having a verry dry warm weather I have got twenty acers of wheat and oats in the ground and is up and looks well the Countary is seteling up fast here now and I think the goverment land will soon be all taken up we are geting some men in here now with means to improve the countary and improved farms is selling as high as fifteen Dolars Per acer and speculators is ancious to buy through this part of the countary Money is very tight and hard to get but I look for better times pretty soon at least I hope so the[y] are going to commence work on the Atichon and Denvir road the first of next month in this County¹⁷ I will know in the corse of a month how close to me it will come

well I will close for the preasent give my respects to Misses

17. Probably another reference to the Atchison and Pike's Peak railroad which had reached Waterville.—See Footnote 16.

Brainard and the Boys and also to Martha & Cynthia and to all my old friends that you sea I am still in hopes of some day coming back to haddam and I think I will be able to own a good place in it some day if I live Please write me by return male and let me know if this is safe for I will be ancious to know

From your sincere Friend
John Ferguson

Cephas I have had the impreashon that there was nine Dolars and some cents but I find on the back of the motgage you have figured \$158.8 cents which leaves \$8.⁸%₁₀₀ your due with interist for five years and three months which makes as near as I can figure \$11.⁰%₁₀₀

April 6th I expected to get a post office order to send you but cant go to get one so I shant send but \$5.00 in this letter and if it goes all right I will send the ballance in another I sent two Dolars for the weekly Tribune once and never heard from it and I am afraid to risk it all at once Please write me by return male and let me know if it is all right

Yours as ever
John Ferguson

Lewis Bodwell, Frontier Preacher; The Early Years

(Concluded)

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

LEWIS BODWELL regarded the institution of slavery as the personification of evil, and he was in complete agreement with those who would oppose its further expansion, and sustain the champions of freedom upon the Kansas prairies. So intense were his feelings upon this issue, that they permeate his entire correspondence, and make him a pronounced partisan upon the great question of the hour, even before reaching his destination in the West.¹⁵² After arriving in Kansas, he was impressed by the prevalence of illegality and violence, and had little confidence in Gov. J. W. Geary, even though he "promises well." Nevertheless, Bodwell took comfort in the belief that eventually slavery would be excluded from Kansas.¹⁵³ Like many other Free-State men, he viewed with great foreboding a victory of Buchanan, and wrote:

Many such are founding their hopes & forming plans, predicated on the result of the coming election for President. Many now out of the territory will remain & many more will go in case Buchanan succeeds; so certain do they consider it that his election is but the prelude, to more violent, continued and successful efforts to subdue freedom in Kansas. We look upon it as the death Knell of our hopes, if it comes. . . .¹⁵⁴

When Geary reestablished order, a difference of opinion soon arose in the Free-State ranks as to the best course to pursue. One faction wished to remain loyal to the Topeka constitution and its slate of officers, the other desired freedom to support whoever and whatever

152. Since much of his correspondence excoriates the Proslavery position, and blames the administration for the Kansas troubles, it has been difficult to avoid repetition of this theme. Before arriving in Kansas, Bodwell expressed his position in a vivid way, in a letter to John Hobbie (October 6, 1856), in which he inveighed against the type of "Kansas Justice," which permitted "bands of robbers to plunder, burn, and kill." When the Free-State men finally took the law into their own hands, they were hunted by federal bayonets, like a gang of outlaws.—Letter in "Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 2, 3, in Kansas State Historical Society.

153. Bodwell to Hobbie, October 17, 1856, in *ibid.*, pp. 3, 4.
"The world rolls freedom's glorious way,
And ripens with her sorrow,
Keep heart! Who bears the cross today
Shall wear the crown tomorrow."

154. Bodwell to Badger, October 21, 1856.—Bodwell Papers, Kansas State Historical Society. Compare the following comments by Thaddeus Hyatt, head of the National Kansas Committee, September 14, 1856 (Hyatt Papers of Kansas State Historical Society): Geary would "succeed in patching up a peace," and "The Ruffians will yield with an ill concealed grace," in the hope of strengthening their position with help from the South. But the Free-State men should prepare for a crisis after election day. "*Let us took well to the Ides of November!* After the sun goes down on the 4th of that month then look for bloody work! *We must be prepared!* . . . All the provisions & ammunition possible to crowd in must be done."

would most promote the cause of freedom.¹⁵⁵ The issue was brought to a point by the question of whether the Free-State men should participate in the coming election for delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention—a movement sponsored by the Proslavery legislature, and opposed by the governor. On March 10, 1857, a Free-State convention was held in Topeka, which prepared an address to the American people.¹⁵⁶ Bodwell apparently attended the meeting, and wrote that it was composed of various parties and sects, “‘small-fisted farmers, greasy mechanics and filthy operatives,’ physicians, lawyers and clergymen, they were *unanimous* in their final decision.”¹⁵⁷ The chief question at issue, Bodwell reported, was whether the Free-State men should participate in the election of the following June, for members of a constitutional convention, as appointed by the Proslavery legislature. It was unanimously decided not to do so, since the initial steps were entirely in the hands of their enemies, who could fix the qualifications for voters, and even import them from outside; and finally, they had no congressional enabling act, which Bodwell believed essential for the formation of a constitution.¹⁵⁸ He remarked that the address which was drawn up was a reply “to the infamously and notoriously *false* document put forth by the Lecompton Convention.”¹⁵⁹

During the spring of 1857 a great wave of emigrants arrived in Kansas, predominately from the free states, and Bodwell wrote in a hopeful vein:

On our political horizon some clouds are seen, & of *immediate* results we have some fears; but in the ultimate sweep of our cause, we have the *utmost confidence*. Immigration at a rate wholly unprecedented has been pouring in upon us, since early in February, bringing in a people *almost* unanimous in their opposition to slavery. . . . [God] will speedily avenge his people, “tho. he bear long with them.”¹⁶⁰

155. *The Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, February 2, 1857. Early in January of that year Gov. Charles Robinson went to Boston, on business for the new town of Quindaro. While there he saw Amos A. Lawrence, the “Santa Claus” of the Free-State movement, who wrote in his private journal (quoted in William Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence* [Boston, 1899], p. 124): “He has resigned his office, and the plan is to give Governor Geary, now a United States official, the popular vote, and so help on the ‘Free State’ movement. Bought a fur coat for Robinson.” In the following March, about a week after Geary resigned from the governorship, Robinson withdrew his resignation, and reaffirmed support of the Topeka constitution.

156. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 157, 158, gives a copy of the platform which Bodwell here summarizes.

157. Bodwell to “Friend Hobbie,” March, 1857, “Bodwell Scrapbook,” p. 6.

158. “If the Topeka Constitution was treason, the Lecompton one will be; and Congress must decide upon the simple merits of the case. . . .”

159. A reference to the territorial convention of the “National Democracy” at Lecompton, January 12, 1857—the day that the Proslavery legislature met for business. An address was later drawn up by this body, which called upon “all good citizens, regardless of party, to rally to law & order.”—Proceedings in *The Kansas Weekly Herald* of Leavenworth, January 24, 1857.

160. Bodwell to Badger, May 15, 1857. Bodwell believed Quindaro destined to be the chief port for central and southern Kansas, and stated that he delivered the first sermon at this place. In his audience were Gov. Charles Robinson and Mrs. Abelard Guthrie, the latter of whom gave her Indian name to the town.—“Bodwell Scrapbook,” p. 6.

During the following summer, the Free-State counsels continued to waver, although the growing strength of their party prompted an increasing number to favor participation in the territorial elections of their opponent, and thus "capture" the government. This issue led to many conventions throughout the territory,¹⁶¹ culminating in a general Free-State meeting at Grasshopper Falls, late in August, 1857. For the first time it was resolved that all Free-State men should participate in the territorial election of October 5, and thus "rely upon the faithful fulfillment of the pledge of Governor Walker."¹⁶² After the election, which proved a Free-State victory, Bodwell wrote that they had entered it on the governor's declaration that it was not territorial but United States law. They succeeded, contrary to expectation, yet despite their "overwhelming actual majority," the only thing that saved them was that the governor "*exceeded his instructions!!!*" by throwing out 2,800 votes, which gave them control of the legislature. Their future was not all clear, but "the morning cometh."¹⁶³

In an election scheduled for late in December, the Lecompton constitutional convention now tried, by "hook or crook," to definitely establish slavery in Kansas. To avoid this a Free-State convention was held at Lawrence December 2, 1857, which repudiated the Lecompton proposals, and requested the submission of both the Topeka and Lecompton constitutions to a fair vote.¹⁶⁴ Bodwell was a member of the convention, and wrote the following day that "the goal is almost won." The people ridiculed the Lecompton proposals,

161. The period of the Lecompton constitutional struggle was a time of incessant political meetings and conventions in Kansas.

162. Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 176, gives a copy of the resolutions. A letter, marked "Private," of S. F. Tappan to T. W. Higginson, July 6, 1857 (Higginson Papers of Kansas State Historical Society), gives a good summary of the Free-State program: "Walker is a small man in Kansas affairs, he has succeeded in buying out the 'Herald of Freedom,' and got Gurtv Windy Brown to pitch into our Topeka Constitution. But our party are more united today than ever. . . . If we can have a fair and impartial election in October under the Organic Act . . . , which Walker says can be done, our purpose is to take part, elect the next Territorial Legislature and Delegate to Congress. Have the Legislature meet, repeal all the Territorial laws so called, pass an act prohibiting slavery in Kansas, recognize the Topeka Government as the only one in Kansas, memorialize Congress to do the same, *and then adjourn sine die*. The Free-state Legislature will then meet and adopt a code of laws and enforce them. The territorial officers will have no laws to enforce, and the people will rally in support of the state organization. . . . The bogus convention will meet, adopt a Constitution, and if they submit it to the people we will vote it down. . . . [But if they do not submit it, and if] Wash'n. sustain them in their villainy, the people will take it up, and there will be a *march* to Lecompton, and the bogus delegates will be driven from the territory, or compel the administration to endorse the concern . . . and if Kansas is admitted into the Union . . . in such a manner, to insist upon the enforcement of our *own* government, at all hazards."

163. Bodwell to Messrs. A. B. Hyde, R. W. R. Freeman, and John Hobbie, November 5, 1857, in "Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 8, 9; Bodwell to A. H. M. S., December 14, 1857. Governor Walker rejected the vote of Oxford precinct, Johnson county, because of extensive frauds. Bodwell commented:

"The harvest dawn is near,
The year delays not long,
And he who sowed with many a tear,
Shall reap with many a song."

164. Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

he asserted, and since the Free-State men had captured the legislature, they were removing the fetters that bound them. They expected to submit the two constitutions to a fair vote "within the shortest possible time." Federal troops were still kept at Lecompton "to guard 28 scoundrels elected by one-twentieth of a people in attempting to force upon the other nineteen-twentieths, laws which they abhor. . . ." ¹⁶⁵

When the Lawrence Free-State convention of early December reassembled a few weeks later, it decided to not participate in the election for state officers of January 4, 1858, as provided by the Lecompton convention. The conservative elements, led by G. W. Brown, refused to agree to this, and at a second meeting named a slate of officers, headed by George W. Smith for governor.¹⁶⁶ Lewis Bodwell appears to have been one of the "die hards," who to the last remained loyal to the Topeka constitution. In a letter to the American Home Missionary Society, March 18, 1858, he bitterly attacked the "party of bolters," who contrary to their decision of December 2, had nominated a ticket and by the "most barefaced misrepresentations" obtained the votes of three thousand to five thousand "nominally free state men" for G. W. Smith.¹⁶⁷ This illustrates the extremely radical position occupied by Bodwell, who would reject most of his friends, if he thought they wavered on the main issue, since the "bolters" probably included a great majority of the Free-State men—all of more conservative views.

At a time when the Topeka constitution was passing out of the picture, and when it seemed more than possible that the Lecompton constitution might be forced upon the people of Kansas, contrary to the clear wishes of the majority, Bodwell wrote Milton Badger of the American Home Missionary Society for confidential advice as to the best course to pursue. As a last resort should the Free-State men adopt a policy of force? He regarded it a "fixed fact that Kansas

165. Letter of Bodwell, dated December 3, 1857, clipped in the "Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 9, 10. Concerning this convention, see Stephenson, W. H., "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. III (1930), pp. 91, 92.

166. Wilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 206. The Free-State men entered the election of officers under the Lecompton constitution of January, 1858, and elected their entire slate of candidates. They also cast more votes against the constitution itself, than had been cast in its favor in the preceding December. This election brought into existence two rival "governments" of the same party, and eventually resulted in the complete demise of the Topeka government, the Leavenworth convention proposing a new constitution for Kansas.

167. Bodwell asserted that the plea of the bolters was "the expediency of having a government ready to take up & kill the Lecompton constitution (if adopted) by resigning &c &c. . . . [J.] Calhoun [the president of the Lecompton convention] is at Washington with the returns. All in his own power, subject only to the will of the man at the White House who is our bitterest enemy. If they will pass the Lecompton Con. & declare the pro-slavery governor & legislature elected; I believe that our people would know & carry out their policy of 'no submission' even tho 'the troops' stood on guard day & night around the officials thus put over us."

even with a slave constitution can never be a slave state. . . ." ¹⁶⁸
He continued:

We have among us those national democrats who go for a "free white" state to the exclusion of the black man, bond or free;¹⁶⁹ we have the conservative free state men, who will unite with any one who will promise to aid them in procuring peace—(without asking much about the price), & we have the tired out toilers of other days; with the timid half-hearted later arrivals; who, the one from weariness & the other from weakness will go for "quiet" at any cost.¹⁷⁰

In the struggle which may yet be demanded of us it is my fear that by means which to me seem apparent, these timid, & tired & conservative & selfish friends (?) will be found caught in the snares now being laid for them by our enemies, open or concealed, & thus the thorough free state men, those who came to make Kansas free for all Gods creatures, or die in the attempt; may be reduced to a small company, perhaps not to a minority but having not an over whelming majority. . . .

Is it duty to submit & counsel submission to the Lec[ompton]. Con[stitution]. in any form or under any circumstances? . . . [If the Administration should admit Kansas under such a constitution, where would duty lie?] In short shall we resist the swindle whether in the hands of pretended friends or open foes, & if need be by force prevent its existence a single day?

When men around me, & among them members of my own church attach their names to documents which in my mind throw away all of vital principle connected with the Kansas struggle, & declare themselves "*in favor of a free white state, to the exclusion of bond or free blacks,*" I begin to tremble for our cause in Kansas. . . .

And should one of your missionaries here deem it his duty (when every man seemed needed) to take a *very active* part in non-submission & resistance, would it in your opinion be advisable that for the sake of the Society he should first resign his commission? . . .¹⁷¹

168. That the problem of a final resort to force was a serious issue during the Lecompton struggle, see the article from *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 5, 1857, quoted in A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 164. Robinson resisted the proposal to use force to stamp out the Lecompton constitution.

169. This party was organized at Lecompton, July 2, 1857, and desiring to "commit no political errors" which might cause them to lose Antislavery votes, they dropped the "Pro-slavery" subtitle, and affirmed support of the Cincinnati platform of the Democracy of 1856.

170. On June 28, 1857, Robert J. Walker, the newly appointed governor of Kansas, wrote to President Buchanan concerning the political parties in the territory (*St. Louis Republican*, April 25, 1860, in "Kansas Territorial Clippings," v. 3, p. 348, in Library of Kansas State Historical Society). He supposed the whole number of settlers to be 24,000. Their active numbers were about as follows: Free-State Democrats, 9,000; Republicans, 8,000; Proslavery Democrats, 6,500; Proslavery Know-Nothings, 500.

Intense agitation over the Lecompton issue later produced a number of lesser factions, particularly among the Free-State men. The more pronounced radicals organized a secret society known as the "Danites," with an aggressive program, and with General Lane a leader. Because of its extreme position, Robinson apparently deserted it for the more conservative faction, in which G. W. Brown of the *Herald of Freedom* was a leader. Bodwell seems to have favored the Danites, and viewed all efforts toward compromise as "signs of selfish ambition & deep moral corruption." In such a category was a speech of Robinson in which he remarked that "the talk about consistency in a struggle like this is an absurdity."

171. Bodwell's extended letter on the Lecompton issue is dated March 18, 1858. The American Home Missionary Society originally tried to avoid the slavery issue, but gradually adopted an attitude of opposition, since it was predominately a Northern institution. By 1853 it denied missionary commissions to slaveholders, but it continued to send missionaries to the slave states, until the outbreak of the Civil War. Since it was conservative in tone, and opposed to violent antislavery agitation, it is safe to conclude that it opposed any resort to force, even under the circumstances that Bodwell suggests.—See Goodykoontz, C. B., *Home Missions on the American Frontier*, Chap. IX.

Late in April, 1858, congress attempted to end the troublesome Kansas question by passing the compromise measure known as the English bill, which promised immediate admission into the union, if the people of Kansas would accept the Lecompton constitution, along with a grant of land similar to that offered Minnesota and other states. Bodwell commented that he had heard of only a single person of Free-State sentiments "who dares to seem an advocate of the acceptance of the infamous land bribe, by which a cowardly & corrupt partisan administration seeks to buy those whom it cannot conquer by fear or force." Even the former advocates of the Lecompton measure would not offer to support this proposal, and election day was spoken of as "the funeral of the English cheat."¹⁷²

Since Lewis Bodwell was so pronounced a partisan upon the issue of slavery, and regarded all compromise as evidence of weakness or moral corruption, he excused or even defended a resort to force in defense of freedom. His attitude in this matter was well illustrated in his relation to John Ritchie, a colorful member of his church who did not hesitate to use force, when the occasion arose. Ritchie was among those indicted for manslaughter, because of alleged participation in the battle of Hickory Point, but he escaped from the jail at Lecompton, and fled to his original home in Indiana, where he remained for a year.¹⁷³ After he returned in 1857, "bygones were counted bygones." He promised to obtain all the stone needed for the Congregational church, quarried and delivered without cost, and in the work of building and rebuilding, his teams were always ready, on "the King's business."¹⁷⁴ He gave 160 acres for a Congregational college (Washburn), and was a prominent leader in reform and civic welfare. The charge of robbing the mails in 1856 hung over his head, but Ritchie was determined to resist "to the bitter

172. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., June 25, 1858. The grant of land proposed by the English bill simply followed a well-established custom in this matter, and was closely patterned after the grant to Minnesota, but it was strongly objected to by the Antislavery propagandists, as a corrupt bribe to the people of Kansas. That this was a harsh appraisal of the measure, see the article by Frank Heywood Hodder, "Some Aspects of the English Bill for the Admission of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, pp. 224-232. The alternative to non-acceptance, however, the exclusion of Kansas from the union until a much larger population were attained, was a more reprehensible clause of the bill. In August, 1858, the entire proposal was voted down by a large majority, bearing out Bodwell's comment upon the feelings of Kansans.

173. *The Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, December 1, 1856. Judging from the account by Bodwell entitled, "John Ritchie: A Pastor's Sketch" ("Bodwell Scrapbook," pp. 23-25), under entry of November 19, 1856, it seems probable that Bodwell was among those helping Ritchie to escape.

174. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., April 27, 1860: "Mr. Ritchie formerly an Indiana Jackson Democrat; is & for years has been a thoroughly anti-slavery Republican and was chosen by the people of this county to represent them, both in the Leavenworth & Wyandott[e] constitutional conventions. He is a man having property worth 20 to 30 thousand dollars who stately devoted one tenth of his income to educational benevolent and religious uses. He is intensely hated by a large class of men among us, for his deep interest & earnest efforts in regard to all the great reforms of the day, & though not always as it seems to us most wise in his acts & words; still thoroughly & heartily in earnest in his desires for the good of all men."

end" all efforts to arrest him for this offense. On April 20, 1860, Leonard Arms, a deputy United States marshal, tried to take him into custody upon this charge, but was met with resistance, and when the officer went to the home of Ritchie in a determined attempt to make the arrest, Ritchie shot him.

Ritchie was tried for murder before Justice Joseph C. Miller of Shawnee county, who found that the defendant had "committed homicide, but one justifiable in the sight of God and man," and accordingly Ritchie was acquitted and discharged.¹⁷⁵ Bodwell commented: "If at any time it seems necessary for political purposes to raise an excitement, which shall show what violent desperate rebels our people are, up come any quantity of 'writs of '56' & the work is done. An ex-deputy now in this place is said to have in his possession 83 such papers."¹⁷⁶ Bodwell reviewed the points brought out in the trial, and believed that no one in his church would censure Ritchie, just as public sentiment did not condemn him.¹⁷⁷ However, the homicide "has fearfully disturbed our community; & is having a powerful effect upon the whole territory; while present indications warrant us in believing that it will be extensively used to the injury of our cause & that of Freedom, by our enemies exaggerating, distorting or concealing such portions of the case as may suit their purpose."¹⁷⁸ Some time later the standing of Ritchie in the First Congregational Church was investigated, with Lewis Bodwell in attendance. The church committee practically reaffirmed the findings of Justice Miller, and freed Ritchie of any further discipline by the church.¹⁷⁹ In this episode, as throughout his career in Kansas, Bodwell identified himself with the more extreme partisans of the Free-

175. Account of trial and copy of court proceedings in extra of *Topeka State Record*, April 28, 1860. Lane, one of the chief lawyers for the defense, made an impassioned appeal for Ritchie, against the "murderer" who "broke" into his home. The decision of Justice Miller was received with great satisfaction by many people. Mayor Farnsworth presided at a mass meeting which deprecated the homicide, but agreed in the future to "resist with every legitimate and proper means" all such "fictitious, unjust and tyrannical" accusations.

176. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., April 27, 1860.

177. *Ibid.* The *Topeka Tribune* (April 28, 1860) argued that mail robbery was a federal offense punishable by U. S. laws, and that to resist a federal marshal was in itself a federal offense.

178. Bodwell's letter of April 27, 1860. The incident inflamed party spirit, but did not have the extreme effects feared by Bodwell. The Free-State party took a position of pronounced hostility to the writs, as contrary to the amnesty act of 1859, but there were those who did not praise Ritchie for his part. The *Topeka Tribune* commented on May 19: "Law and order men turn out and give him a wide path, as they would turn from the approach of a monster; but the Revolutionists have greeted him as their captain, and have been heard to compliment him on his manliness."

179. "Record Book" of First Congregational Church, entry of May 19, 1861. The church committee, consisting of H. W. Farnsworth, H. D. Rice, and H. Hannahs, concluded that Ritchie had resorted to force only when he regarded his life in danger. Some years later the Topeka church expelled Ritchie for making charges against a fellow member which he could not prove to the satisfaction of the church and for which he was unwilling to make a retraction.

For help in this and other matters connected with the records of this church, the writer is indebted to Dr. Charles Louis Atkins, pastor of the church, 1927-1943.

State cause—those who detested any resort to compromise, and preferred the use of force to a surrender to the powers of evil.

In advocacy of the rightfulness of force, if properly used, Bodwell might have pointed to the words of many leading divines of the day, such as Henry Ward Beecher. It seems probable that he would have agreed with a Methodist preacher, who later described the course of events in Kansas: "The right of way for peace was secured by the gun, and the right of moral and intellectual darkness gave way before the insistent flashes of gospel light. . . . Such is the transforming power of the Gun and the Gospel."¹⁸⁰ The best pen picture of Lewis Bodwell, written by Richard Cordley, places him in this light, when Bodwell attended the Free-State meeting at Lecompton in December, 1857:

From the West came the Topeka Company, and with them Brother Bodwell. He was riding his faithful pony "Major," whom all old Kansas ministers will remember . . . ; he was booted and spurred, wore a close-fitting cap, and had an Indian blanket pinned over his shoulders; under the blanket were plainly visible the muzzle of a Sharps rifle and the hilt of a Colt's revolver. I did not see his Bible, but if you had searched him, I have little doubt you would have found in his right-hand coat-pocket a well-thumbed Greek Testament, which he always carried, and used in leisure moments. I did not see him reading it on that day, for he believed in a division of labor. He came to Lecompton to "watch": he would "pray" at some other time. His carbine and revolver were not carried altogether as ornaments; for the firm setting of his lips and the flashing of his keen black eye plainly showed that when he once felt in duty called upon to shoot, it would be very unpleasant for somebody. Years later, during the war, when he was traveling in behalf of the American Home Missionary Society, he always carried his revolver under the cushion of his carriage-seat, so as to be at all times instantly available. He used to say, "If a man carry a revolver at all, it is just as well to have it handy, for I have noticed that when any shooting is to be done, it makes all the difference in the world who gets the first shot."¹⁸¹

From the beginning of his service in Kansas, Lewis Bodwell appears to have been eminently successful in his chosen calling. His popularity as a preacher was undoubtedly due in no small degree

180. The Rev. H. D. Fisher, *The Gun and the Gospel* (Kansas City, Mo., 1902, 4th ed.), introductory chapter, pp. viii, x: "The gun as an emblem of soldierly prowess has often changed the maps of the world, has destroyed inquisitions and prisons . . . ; it has furnished themes for poets, material for historians, and made a highway for civilization; it has tunneled the hills and scaled the mountains, crossed seas and continents, and planted symbols of Christianity upon the islands of the seas; it has preserved and it has demolished nations; and with the sword, an emblem of power, has established the prerogatives of those mightier weapons of civilization and christianity, the pen and the pulpit." In the wake of conquering armies follows "the Evangel of Peace on Earth, the Gospel."

181. Cordley's article in *The Congregational Quarterly*, Boston, July, 1876; p. 8 of the reprint. Since there is no other sketch that is so penetrating, the writer takes the liberty of including it here, with due apology to the author. So far as is known, Bodwell was not a member of the Topeka company.

American history affords many examples of "fighting persons" who were ready to shoulder the gun in the interest of what they deemed right. In this same mood is the song of the present war, entitled: "Praise the Lord, and Pass the Ammunition."

to his willingness to share the joys and sorrows of his people, and to his quickness to lend a hand, wherever needed. In a new country such qualities were more appreciated than the "book larnin'" of a formal education, with which he was much less equipped. Because of his popularity, Bodwell played an important role in the early history of his denomination in Kansas.

In April, 1857, the first general meeting of Congregationalism was held at Topeka, and the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches of Kansas was organized. By-laws and articles of faith were adopted, along with resolutions strongly condemning slavery.¹⁸² Although not present at this meeting, Bodwell was among those received into membership. He was also placed upon a committee to consider the matter of a Congregational college, and upon a second committee to solicit funds for the building of churches in Kansas.¹⁸³

In October, 1858, when the general association met at Manhattan, Bodwell presented a report from the business committee upon the subject of tract societies and colportage. The American Tract Society of Boston was praised for its treatment of slavery as one of the "great sins of the day."¹⁸⁴ The system of colportage, which provided religious literature for those desiring it, was praised by the report, and a colporteur was desired, to perform this work for Kansas. To carry out this recommendation, a committee on "home evangelization" was named, "who should act as a committee on missions, church extension and colportage, and should have general oversight of the religious interests of the Territory."¹⁸⁵ Lewis Bodwell was retained as a member of this committee.

The committee on church erection, upon which Bodwell had been placed by the general association in 1857, also reported at the meet-

^{182.} *Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers & Churches in Kansas*, April 25-27, 1857, Appendix I, pp. 2-9 (*The Congregational Record*, v. 1). There were then eight organized churches of this denomination in Kansas. The resolutions as to slavery follow:

"Resolved, 1. That the system of American Chattel Slavery is a high crime against God and humanity, and, as such, is *prima facie* evidence against the Christian character of those implicated in it.

"2. That this Association will in no manner fellowship any other ecclesiastical body which willfully sustains, directly or indirectly, that system."

^{183.} *Ibid.* The minutes (Appendix I, pp. 11, 12) note that because of "a simultaneous breaking in of an overflowing tide" of emigrants, the notable lack of the essentials of life, and the bad effects of the drought of 1856, the churches in Kansas could not be expected to do much to support themselves, and must apply for outside help. They needed \$20,000 for erecting churches throughout the territory.

^{184.} At the annual meeting in 1859, however, the association condemned this society for its position upon slavery.

^{185.} *Congregational Record*, (v. I, No. 1) January, 1859, pp. 4-8. County Bible societies were favored, with a Bible, tract, and Sunday school book depository at Lawrence. The convention named Bodwell for this work in Shawnee county. Concerning the many "small, yet important" settlements, they "deem it expedient to employ missionaries for these fields, who shall distribute their labors among them; and that we instruct the committee on home evangelization to procure such laborers, if possible."

ing of 1858. Bodwell and Amory Hunting had gone east, and conferred with the "church erection fund" committee, and also with the American Congregational Union, and found a radical difference between the two organizations. The union required a church building to be completed to the amount asked of them, before granting any aid, and made its own decisions on all claims. The "church erection fund" committee, on the contrary, apportioned their funds among the states and territories, to be distributed by local committees, and gave their funds at the start, merely requiring a bond for the completion of the church, free of debt, within a specified time. Since the churches on the frontier needed cash at the beginning, the union was then of little use to them, while the church erection fund committee had already sent \$2,500 to Kansas, to be distributed among the churches at Burlingame, Grasshopper Falls, Zeandale, Bloomington, Eureka, Manhattan, Topeka, and Leavenworth.¹⁸⁶

The committee of the general association upon the matter of a Congregational college for Kansas, on which Bodwell and John Ritchie had been placed by the annual meeting of 1857, also reported at the meeting of 1858. In July, 1858, they had advertised for bids for a location for the college, and Lawrence, Topeka, and other cities made offers of land. The committee, with Ritchie as chairman, reported in favor of a location at Topeka, and the association adopted the report. A board of trustees was named for the proposed college, with Bodwell as temporary chairman.¹⁸⁷ The association drafted a report, which included the following comments:

It is the intention of the Association to put the college in motion as early as possible, and to spare no pains to make it an institution of the first order. Aid to a large amount has already been promised. . . .

The professors have not yet been selected, but it is hoped they will be before many months. Nothing will be done in this line, however, till the

186. "Minutes of the General Association," October 8, 1858, in *ibid.*, pp. 3, 4. In his *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (New York, 1900), pp. 383, 384, Williston Walker notes that the main work of the union was the payment of "last bills," after needy churches had done all in their power to provide themselves with buildings. By 1893 it had completed 2,340 houses of worship and 309 parsonages. In 1860 it gave a small sum to aid the building of Bodwell's church at Topeka.

In an article by Lewis Bodwell, R. D. Parker, and H. M. Simpson, entitled "The American Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association" (*Congregational Record*, v. II, No. 4, p. 80), it was stated that in the five preceding years (to October, 1860) the churches of Kansas had received about \$17,500 from the first of these societies, and not less than \$5,000 from the second. This was many times more than what they had contributed to the same organizations.

187. "Minutes," October 8-11, 1858, in *ibid.*, (v. I, No. 1) January, 1859, p. 8; also "An Historical Sketch of Washburn College, by the President" (Peter McVicar), p. 2, in Library of Kansas State Historical Society. A board of fourteen trustees was named, including Bodwell, R. Cordley, C. E. Blood, G. C. Morse, R. D. Parker, and others, who were to hold office for two years. A basis of organization was also drafted for the proposed college. The offer of Topeka included: "160 acres of land within a mile and a half of Topeka; 20 acres on Topeka town-site; 840 acres in the Territory, as an endowment; and a building, equal to 40 by 50 feet, and two stories high, of stone or brick, to be completed on or before Jan 1, 1860." The board of trustees was to decide as to the fulfillment of these terms.

proper men can be found, as everything depends on that. Three professors of the proper mental dimensions are better than a dozen of a smaller style.¹⁸⁸

The offer of Topeka was not to be binding upon the general association, unless the terms were fulfilled in the specified time of six months—too short a period, considering the hard times in Kansas. Nevertheless, the chief initial steps seem to have been taken, when Lewis Bodwell, acting as temporary chairman of the board of trustees of the college and moderator of the approaching meeting of the general association, issued a circular charging that Topeka had failed to make good her promises.¹⁸⁹ In May, when the association met at Lawrence, a special committee confirmed Bodwell's charge, and its report was adopted,¹⁹⁰ thereby leaving the matter of location again open, with Topeka, Lawrence, Burlingame, and Wabaunsee submitting proposals.

The offer of Lawrence was regarded by the association as the most liberal, and was accepted, and the projected institution was named "Monumental College," in memory of the victory of freedom over slavery in Kansas.¹⁹¹ The year 1860 was one of extreme drought, which prevented work on the proposed buildings, and at the next annual meeting of the association, the college was moved back to Topeka, on terms similar to those first offered.¹⁹² The Civil War caused a further delay, and it was not until 1865 that the institution was finally incorporated as Lincoln College. When it opened its doors the following year, Lewis Bodwell was president of the board of trustees, apparently a recognition of his services in the work of foundation.¹⁹³

188. "Minutes," pp. 13-16. The report recommended "that they abandon the Western system of starvation salaries, and proceed at once to *offer* and *pay* liberal salaries to their professors—thus securing first-class men." Long before they had arranged for a source of revenue, they were planning in a detailed way for the personnel of the college-to-be. The charter set up a board of trustees, and "directed them how to invest their money not yet secured, and how to dispose of property not yet obtained." This was characteristic of the prophetic vision of the frontiersmen, who were building a greater world-to-be, even though still a "castle in the air."

189. In its issue of August 25, 1859, the Topeka *Tribune* gave an extended account, entitled, "The Congregational College." According to this, Topeka was required to fulfill her promises very promptly, and if she failed, a special meeting of the college trustees was to be called, early in January, 1859. The minutes of the association were not published until some time after this, and neither Bodwell as temporary chairman, nor the citizens of Topeka realized the urgency of the matter, until too late. By early April the town had obtained both the necessary land and money, and was ready to make the final transfers, etc., and begin the building, when Bodwell made his charge of nonfulfillment.

190. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., September 14, 1859: "As to the right or wrong of my action, I trust it will be enough to say that in a meeting of 12 ministers & 12 delegates, representing 10 of our ch'ns that action was endorsed by a vote of 22 to 1, & he from Topeka."

191. Topeka *Tribune*, August 25, 1859; *The Kansas Press*, Cottonwood Falls, June 13, 1859; McVicar's sketch, p. 3; "Minutes" of the association, *Congregational Record*, (v. I, No. 3) July, 1859, pp. 44-47. Lawrence offered the college 170 acres near the town, 1,220 acres elsewhere in the territory, 151 town lots, and a sum of money, if it would locate there. These liberal terms illustrate the intense rivalry between the towns, which Bodwell described as "astonishing, & when not contemptible is ridiculous." He was named to the board of trustees of Monumental College.

192. McVicar's sketch of Washburn College, p. 4.

193. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 545. In 1866 Bodwell returned for a second pastorate of nearly three years at the Topeka church, which was closely connected with the college. To help the new institution, he wrote a letter printed in connection with "An appeal to Congregational

The proposal to move the college from Topeka to Lawrence resulted in much disaffection in Bodwell's church in Topeka, during the summer of 1859. Bodwell wrote to the American Home Missionary Society that the change was "greatly, as I hope, to the gain of the Institution, tho. my position in the matter is productive of any but pleasant results," since people found it hard to appreciate any move "which does not make their place the center of beauty, attraction, profit, &c, &c; the *only* place in which anything can start & live."¹⁹⁴ Goaded into action primarily because of the bad situation in his church, Bodwell upon Sunday, June 19, 1859, "notified the Church that after the expiration of his commission (Sept. 15) his work here as a Missionary might probably be considered at an end."¹⁹⁵ That evening a severe wind storm destroyed most of the church building, upon which Bodwell and his congregation had labored so faithfully.¹⁹⁶ He went to Leavenworth to supply a temporary vacancy caused by the resignation of the Rev. R. D. Parker, and while there wrote the Missionary Society that after the expiration of the current year, he did not intend to return to Topeka.¹⁹⁷ While Bodwell was absent, his congregation considered the matter in dispute, and unanimously voted to request their pastor to continue with them, and to seek the necessary commission from the Missionary Society.¹⁹⁸ Bodwell finally consented to remain at Topeka, and remarked in a letter to the Missionary Society:

My *resignation* of this place was given in under circumstances & for reasons, which in the minds of all my brethren rendered such action justifiable & necessary. The source of the difficulty was the change of location of our proposed college. . . . The feelings, remarks & actions of certain persons in my ch'h. were such as in my estimation, forbade any future harmony of action in the ch'h. & usefulness in community.¹⁹⁹

Churches in behalf of Lincoln College," in which he called attention to the great need of an "educated and godly ministry." His travels had shown that "Whole towns and counties, with hundreds and thousands of inhabitants, are destitute of needed preaching." They needed educational facilities close at hand, to supply the need of a trained ministry.

194. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., June 11, 1859.

195. "Church Record Book" of First Congregational Church, Topeka. Action on Bodwell's resignation was deferred. On July 18 Bodwell repeated his notice.

196. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., June 22, 1859. This was reminiscent of the old superstition that trouble never come singly.

197. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., August 4, 1859.

198. "Church Record Book," entry of August 15, 1859.

199. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., September 14, 1859. (Note his private abbreviation for church—"ch'h.") He now consented to apply for the place at Topeka, "because the ch'h is now *unanimous* in upholding my character & labors & requesting me to remain—because persons wishing to join us will hold off if I give countenance to the idea that I am forced away—because even among members of other ch'h's, and those who are not religious, & particularly the young & middle aged—as I am informed there is in the community but one mind in regard to my remaining here." When he wrote in December, the evil results in his church from the Monumental College episode seemed pretty well ended. "In my own church & congregation all difficulties of a local nature seem to have yielded to a course of treatment conciliatory yet firm & unflinching. . . ." He rejoiced that "*unthinking* local prejudice" had been overruled, and confidence in the minister increased. He seized this opportunity to begin his highly successful revival campaign.

Even before the summer of 1859, Lewis Bodwell had made up his mind that a larger field of service was urgently calling him to leave his Topeka pastorate. As a man of broad outlook and sympathies, he had conceived a keen interest in the welfare of the whole Western country, and in order to relieve the lack of members of his calling, he had ministered in some degree to the spiritual needs of nearby communities.²⁰⁰ In the discharge of his duties he traveled a good deal, and he soon came to realize the great dearth of religious opportunities endured by the settlers. Early in February, 1858, he voiced the hope of his colleagues, that some one like Lum might be kept in the field in Kansas "as a sort of agent & itinerant."²⁰¹ Late in the summer Bodwell stressed the matter more forcefully, stating that if an exploring and traveling missionary should be decided upon, he would like to be considered a candidate, since he lacked the "impedimenta" of a married man, although Lum was better qualified.²⁰² He later added that the proposal was not of his own seeking. His colleagues regarded him favorably, as he was not, like Lum, encumbered with a family. They agreed that such an agent "must be an *itinerant* missionary, one whose 'home' is in his saddle & who has nothing to hinder his remaining one, two, or four weeks in any place which might need him."²⁰³ When the Missionary Society could give them such a man, they would cease talking of doing it themselves.

When the general association met at Manhattan the next month, it appointed a committee on home evangelization, "who should act as a committee on *missions*, *church extension* and *colportage*, and should have general oversight of the religious interests of the Territory."²⁰⁴ Later Bodwell was made chairman of this committee, and wrote to the society that they unanimously believed the existing laborers and system of labor inadequate to meet the pressing demands. All agreed that the "home" of the worker should be his saddle, like the Methodist circuit rider, since the Congregationalists

200. The American Home Missionary Society frowned upon any elaborate system of itinerancy (*see* Goodykoontz, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-183), on the theory that any good accomplished by one itinerant was lost before another appeared, and that a better policy was to help individual churches, until they could support themselves. Instead of itinerancy, this organization encouraged its missionaries to preach in nearby places, as was done by Bodwell, and made its chief goal the establishment of permanent pastorates in places of importance—"going" communities.

201. Bodwell to Badger, February 4, 1858. Lum never traveled a great deal, which partly explains the general feeling in this matter.

202. Bodwell to Badger, August 11, 1858. He remarked that even his own congregation admitted the need of such an agent, although unwilling to see him go. A little later H. W. Farnsworth wrote for the trustees of the Topeka church that Bodwell's removal would be regarded with "extreme regret." For him, to labor as a general missionary "meets not with a single approving voice in this community."

203. Bodwell to Badger, September 8, 1858.

204. "Minutes" of the general association, October, 1858, *Congregational Record*, (v. I, No. 1) January, 1859, p. 5.

were equally as scattered as the Methodists. Let the society give them one man for all Kansas, or one for each of the two regions north and south of the Kansas river, or even three or four. "It is not great talent which we need, but great industry, activity, perseverance & *entire devotion* to the work in hand." ²⁰⁵

The reply of Milton Badger of the Missionary Society appears to have been critical of the proposal, and reflected upon the wisdom if not the propriety of Bodwell's suggestions.²⁰⁶ Although under fire by his superior officers, Bodwell resolutely "stuck to his guns," and pointed out that he had always consulted with Lum, and found him of like views. Concerning his own standing and that of his colleagues, the society should consult with at least two laymen in each church "who shall be requested to state exactly the standing of the minister in his community, church & cong'n."²⁰⁷ One of the underlying sources of this difficulty lay in the fact that the committee on home evangelization of the general association of Kansas, of which Bodwell was now chairman, in reality competed with the Home Missionary Society for the control of Congregationalism in Kansas.²⁰⁸ The issue remained in abeyance for some months, until a crisis arose in the affairs of Bodwell at Topeka, when the whole question was reopened.

In the summer of 1859, while acting as a substitute pastor at Leavenworth, Bodwell wrote an extended letter to the Missionary Society, giving details concerning the Congregational ministers in Kansas. He believed northeastern Kansas to be the area most deserving of attention by the society, since now, after the resignation of Parker at Leavenworth, that organization had only one regularly accredited representative in this region—Storrs at Quindaro. Bodwell stated that Parker had made arrangements for

205. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., December, 1858.

206. The nature of Badger's letter can be inferred from Bodwell's reply of February 7, 1859. Since Lum was their regularly appointed agent for Kansas, the executives of the Missionary Society probably regarded it the plain duty of their missionaries to confer with him. They apparently did not realize that he did not travel much, and that he himself favored the proposed change. On March 31, 1860, Henry M. Simpson of Lawrence, another member with Bodwell of the committee on home missions, wrote to the society that some years before Lum and several others had had the idea of employing Bodwell, as an exploring agent, independent of the Missionary Society, but had dropped the plan when they learned the attitude of the society.

207. As their agent Lum could inform them with greater certainty than he (Bodwell). He could be asked as to the standing of Bodwell, as preacher, citizen, etc. "Does the business of his calling employ him fully? Do you think it his great & principal aim? . . . Do you judge that if *able* his people would unite to support him; or is he kept because cheap, until a better chance offers? . . . If unknown to me good & valid reasons exist why I have not their full & united confidence, I wish to know it, in any way I can, that I may seek to amend or get out of the way."—(Signed) Lewis Bodwell.

208. This cleavage was essentially that of the frontier against the older and more mature East. The West was always desirous of help—financial and otherwise, but in spite of this, wanted its own freedom of action in all things. With his strongly developed sense of individualism, the true frontiersman could never consent to the doctrine that "he who pays the fiddler has a right to call the tune."

ministers at Elwood and Hiawatha. As for Bodwell, he was undecided, but preferred Leavenworth to Topeka.²⁰⁹

When Bodwell finally decided to return to Topeka, he remarked that Lum had intimated the intention of giving up his work as agent. "The brethren are unanimous in the feeling that a laborer of this kind should be now & *every day* in the field. . . ." ²¹⁰ Bodwell returned to Topeka with this goal in view, and with growing insistence reiterated the need of a traveling missionary. In one of these letters he remarked that he had worked in Kansas for two thirds of his Eastern salary, and was now ready to do this work for two thirds of his Kansas income. In regard to the agency, the missionary committee of the general association desired "a winter & summer activity; the greatest possible efficiency; & economy as strict as you need." Because of the opposition of the chief officials of the Missionary Society, Bodwell stated that he had been unwilling to take up the matter again, until their "*pressing & fast growing want, forced me toward it as the great work assigned the Missionary Com.*" ²¹¹

In March Bodwell wrote in a still more positive manner that circumstances peculiarly adapted him to the active pioneer life which was his choice, and which seemed necessary to his bodily health. He was now arranging his affairs in Topeka, so that he could leave in the near future.

I now look for the man who can do the work Topeka needs; while I turn to the work which forms the *plan* of life; at least for my younger years. Bro McVicar is the one whom I look upon as the man for Topeka. He can come to a thriving town; a ch'h now only the 2nd in size in Kansas; an intelligent & appreciative community; a field still large enough & hard enough to tax all his powers; & one in which a good *ministers good wife* could exert an influence second only to the minister himself. I would place over the ch'h I love a minister in all respects my equal, in many my superior; & would in addition give it the advantage of the *added help* it much needs. I think myself able so to arrange it that my successor may step into my present field with no difficulty to him & no injury to the church. . . .²¹²

The term of the Rev. S. Y. Lum as agent for Kansas had now expired, and he gave notice of his intention to sever his connection

209. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., August 4, 1859.

210. Bodwell to A. H. M. S., September 14, 1859.

211. Bodwell to Badger, February 8, 1860: "Evangelical Kansas is in the main the foster child of free New England, & it is not strange that she should adopt her mothers views. . . . Byrd, & Lum, Jones, Blood, Copeland, Adair, &c. &c. were here not because you selected them but because they came, & who should possess & enjoy the vineyard but he who planted, walled & watered it."

In his fourth annual report, late in February, 1860, Bodwell described the great success he had attained in his revival, and renewed his plea for an agent, even at a low salary. "The cry is however not 'more pay' but 'more laborers'; & if I mistake not the church has yet in its coffers the answers to many of its apparently unanswered prayers."

212. Bodwell to Badger, March 12, 1860.

with the Missionary Society, thereby leaving the way open for the appointment of Bodwell.²¹³ Bodwell appears to have made immediate application, and during the month of March, 1860, his closer friends and colleagues wrote the society, recommending him for the position. These communications praised him as entirely faithful and reliable, a hard worker who performed his tasks with thoroughness and dispatch, and a preacher and jealous missionary second to none in the territory, who had the confidence of all his brethren.²¹⁴ One wrote: "I believe he would do more exploring in three months than Lum accomplished in three years."²¹⁵ Another added: "And last, but not least, . . . he has no *farm* and no *speculative schemes* on hands. . . ."²¹⁶ Along with these words of praise by his colleagues, Bodwell had already acquired a good knowledge of affairs throughout eastern Kansas, by virtue of his work for the committee on home evangelization of the general association, and by his tendency to "circulate about" wherever people were to be found.

The American Home Missionary Society appointed Bodwell to the position of Kansas agent in April. He immediately accepted their offer, although as "one of the youngest & least experienced" of their laborers, he could not hope to do all that was needed, which in their words "*would tax the skill & powers of an angelic laborer.*"²¹⁷ As to salary, he believed that an income "equal to my present one, with provision for expenses incidental to journeying (using my own horse) would not under ordinary circumstances be too large." A salary equal to that of the Baptist Home Missionary Society's agents in Kansas, namely \$800, from which he paid his own expenses, did not seem extravagant, but in any case, Bodwell assured his employers that he would work "for *any sum* which you may see fit to appropriate—if it should but pay for clothing & expenses, cheerfully & heartily . . . and . . . faithfully per-

213. Henry M. Simpson to A. H. M. S., March 31, 1860, recommending Bodwell. He asserted that Lum had always disliked the work, and had not been away from home over two months in the past year, usually preaching at Lawrence, where Cordley was now pastor. Simpson charged that Lum had done nothing worth while in Kansas, had organized no churches or Sabbath schools, but instead had speculated in real estate.

214. Rev. J. D. Liggett to Milton Badger, March 26, 1860; also Richard Cordley to A. H. M. S., March 24, 1860. Cordley termed the preference for Bodwell unanimous among the brethren: "He is not a perfect man, nor is he your full pattern, but we think he combines as many of the elements needed by the work now required as any man we know." Bodwell's health required constant exercise, which he could obtain in the saddle.

215. Rev. R. D. Parker to Doctor Badger, March 29, 1860 (marked private). He thought two active men, one north and one south of the Kansas river, "could do as much for the cause of Xy, if permitted to itinerate; as four men could do shut up in some little town like Quindaro or Emporia."

216. Letter of Liggett, cited above: "It is a sad statement, nevertheless it seems to me that getting farms and improving them has engrossed more of the time of many of your missionaries in this territory, than the work of the Lord has. . . ."

217. Bodwell to Badger, April 24, 1860.

form what in my view the work which you have committed to me demands." ²¹⁸

The acceptance by Lewis Bodwell of the position of agent of the American Home Missionary Society for Kansas, closed the first period of his career in the West. The First Congregational Church of Topeka released him from his responsibilities as pastor, gave him their best wishes for his future work, and some months later voted to accept his candidate, Peter McVicar, as their new minister.²¹⁹ Not long after his release from the Topeka church, Bodwell wrote to the Missionary Society that his new work had begun very pleasantly.

I am just now visiting the vacant ch'hs & destitute communities of this part of Kansas & am welcomed as hungry people do their food. I hope within a short time to start to spend 3 or 4 weeks among the ch'hs & settlements of the extreme S & SE parts of this Territory; it being my desire to go into & through the valleys of the Neosho, Osage, Marmaton & before the sickly season comes on; if possible taking that time, to visit the mountains,²²⁰ in the hope of being able to go along steadily with my work, & dodge "the chills," our great enemy. From all parts of the Territory the call is that from Macedonia— "Come— help." ²²¹

Bodwell's early years in Kansas had been marked by a devotion to duty as he saw it, and a spirit of sacrifice which had won general approval. A natural aptitude for preaching, and a willingness to pitch in, wherever needed, and subjugate self for the good of the cause, were among the greatest personal resources of Lewis Bodwell, which promised well for his future career as a traveling missionary. Energy, hope, and enthusiasm were his to a remarkable degree, qualities which counted for much on the American frontier.

218. *Ibid.*: "I could not consistently & absolutely offer to do the work for less than my present salary." At the time of his reappointment in September, 1859, the Topeka church offered to make his salary \$600, of which they would pay \$200, and the society the rest. Bodwell's salary proposals for his new position were notably liberal, but the reader will note that they were not as liberal as what he had proposed, before obtaining the appointment. Since no definite agreement had been made, previous to obtaining the appointment, Bodwell took advantage of his stronger position, to advance his arguments as to a proper salary.

219. "Church Record Book," entry of May 5, 1860. In November, 1860, it was unanimously voted to invite McVicar to be their minister, at a salary of \$600. McVicar could not leave Andover immediately, and Bodwell occasionally preached to the church, in the interim. He was much provoked that McVicar could not get away sooner, and wrote June 11, 1860: "Do the Andover Profs understand that with us, every day is worth a month in old established slow moving N. England."

220. Bodwell expected to be sent by the society on a brief trip to Colorado, but later orders reversed this. He had regarded the rush to Pikes Peak as a movement of "floaters," similar to the Frazer river boom, but he was willing to visit the diggings, in the interest of religion.

221. Bodwell to Badger, June 5, 1860. As an itinerant or traveling missionary Bodwell had many exciting experiences, of which none was more harrowing than his close call from death in the Quantrill raid. In 1866 he returned to the Topeka church, where he served a second pastorate of nearly three years. In 1869, due to the ill health of himself and wife, he resigned and returned to the sanitarium at Clifton Springs, N. Y., where he became chaplain. He died in 1894. His correspondence for the later years in Kansas, as found in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society, is very extensive. The Bodwell Papers appear to have been, originally, a part of the correspondence of the American Home Missionary Society, the main collection of which is now in the care of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Irregularities at the Pawnee Agency

STANLEY CLARK

THE Pawnee Indians moved voluntarily from their homes along the Republican river in Nebraska to Indian territory and settled near Black Bear creek in 1874-1875 in order to get away from the menacing Sioux. More primitive leaders still sought to live by the chase and looked forward to roaming the Western plains again with no fear of hostile attack. This hope was stimulated by Indian Bureau officials, and the Pawnee agent found himself confronted by the task of civilizing and stabilizing his charges and at the same time granting their requests for periodic hunts.¹

The spring of 1876 was a particularly trying one for the Pawnees. There was much sickness; hardly a lodge had escaped sieges of malaria or pneumonia, which, coupled with indifference to sanitary rules and intolerable living conditions, greatly increased the mortality rate. To add to the general despondency unseasonably heavy rains in March brought the Black Bear and its minor tributaries to flood stage. Huddled inside rude shelters, idle and morose, the Pawnees were solely dependent upon their weekly rations for sustenance, and these grew scant.²

William Burgess, agent, wrote to Washington repeatedly during the late winter months in regard to the decreasing store of supplies but officialdom had to move within circumscribed limits, ever under the alert supervision of the Board of Indian Commissioners. Burgess was denied the possibility of making an open-market purchase because congress had adjourned the preceding year without taking action on a Pawnee relief bill, and there were no funds available for the agent's use. None of the local jobbers in Coffeyville, Kan., one hundred miles away, could afford to credit the agency with ad-

1. Charles N. Searing to E. A. Hayt, November 21, 1877, in Office of Indian Affairs, Pawnee, P-690/1877. Agent Searing, writing relative to the Indians going on a buffalo hunt, quotes from a letter of Supt. William Nicholson written at Baltimore, March 6, 1877: "In a conference recently held by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Committee of Friends having charge of Pawnee Agency and myself, the following conclusions were reached: there is not enough money to buy so much sustenance as last year and as soon as the crops are laid by in the summer the Indians must be allowed, under proper regulations, to go to the plains and endeavor, as far as practicable, to subsist themselves and secure lodge skins, and later in the season, robes." (Hereafter Office of Indian Affairs is cited as OIA. These documents are in the Interior Department records, National Archives, Washington, D. C.)

2. S. A. Galpin to J. Q. Smith, January 26, 1877, in OIA, Pawnee, G-79/1877. Galpin, chief clerk of the Indian Bureau, in the winter of 1876-1877, made a tour of investigation of certain agencies in the Indian territory. His *Report Upon the Condition of Certain Indian Agencies in Indian Territory Now Under the Supervision of the Orthodox Friends* was published in pamphlet form in Washington, 1877, but his detailed and comprehensive treatment of the Pawnee agency was not included in the published document. He reasoned that there were two explanations for the high death rate: First, it resulted from the Indians' natural unwillingness to submit to medical aid, and second, that through unconcern the supply of quinine and other medicines was exhausted at the height of the "sickly season."

ditional supplies as there was no assurance that funds would ever be made available to take care of accumulated debts.³

Timorous and indecisive, Burgess realized at last that urgent action was necessary. After consulting his family and the agency employees, he made the three days' trip to Coffeyville.⁴ Finding no merchant who would accommodate him, he began to bombard Washington with telegrams.

Notwithstanding the flooded condition of the country the Pawnees were scattering from their reservation and seeking food wherever they could find it. Many were driven to the digging of roots and the gathering of mushrooms. Others made their way into Kansas to beg from the townspeople of Arkansas City, Coffeyville, and Independence.⁵ Their presence aroused the fear of citizens there and congress was appealed to for their removal.⁶

Quick action resulted; on April 3, the bill for the sale of the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska, which had been reported out favorably by the committee on Indian affairs, was read, and passed after Rep. Andrew R. Boone of Kentucky convinced the house that action was necessary to keep the starving Indians from committing depredations in the border towns.⁷ Rep. Julius H. Seelye of Massachusetts inserted an amendment in the bill which provided funds for temporary relief to cover the exigency that had arisen. Nor did the senate waste any time in its discussion. On April 5, in response to a message from President Grant, the senate also passed the measure.⁸

On the same day John Q. Smith, commissioner of Indian affairs, sent a telegram to Burgess authorizing the immediate expenditure of a sum not to exceed \$10,000 for purchases in open market.⁹ Stacy Matlock, Pawnee agency trader, contracted to deliver 30,000 pounds of flour at \$3.75 per hundred-weight, 4,250 pounds of bacon at

3. Burgess to Smith, April 2, 1876—OIA, Pawnee, B-427/1876.

4. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1876—OIA, Pawnee, B-583/1876.

5. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1876, in OIA, Pawnee, B-413/1876; also *ibid.*, April 2, 1876, in OIA, Pawnee, B-427/1876.

6. Typical was the telegram from William C. Masten, mayor of Coffeyville, to Secretary of Interior Chandler, April 3, 1876: "Number of Pawnee Indians are prowling around the border seeking aid. Trouble is anticipated unless speedily relieved."—OIA, Pawnee, M-274/1876. Also that of B. T. Brock, sheriff of Montgomery county, Independence, to John Q. Smith, commissioner of Indian affairs, April 4, 1876: "Many Shawnee [Pawnee] Indians are entirely without food. They are troubling our citizens. They claim there is nothing to eat at their reservation. Cannot something be done?"—OIA, Pawnee, B-430/1876.

7. *Congressional Record*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., v. IV, Pt. 3, pp. 2161, 2162.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 2181, 2213. Seelye's amendment, which was inserted in the bill to take care of the contingent exigency, was worded: "*And provided also*, That so much of the residue of the three hundred thousand dollars aforesaid as may be needed for the immediate necessities of the aforesaid Pawnee Indians may be expended in the purchase of supplies therefor in open market."—19 U. S. *Statutes at Large*, 29, 30.

9. Smith to Burgess, April 5, 1876—OIA, Pawnee, M-572/1876.

sixteen cents per pound, and 24,750 pounds of corn meal at two cents per pound.¹⁰

Agent Burgess sent emissaries to various refugee camps and gathered the Indians back upon the reservation.¹¹ He knew that beef at the agency would cause the Indians to forget quickly their most recent suffering, and now, armed with authority to buy, Burgess found the cattlemen more willing to deal with him.

At this time the cattlemen had a closely knit organization that controlled the beef contract business with the various Indian agencies. Chief of the contractors was Thomas Lanigan of Fort Smith, Ark., and associated with him as subcontractors were William C. Masten, T. F. Eldridge, and Joseph Leach.

Government contract specifications called for corn-fed beef; only steers and cows were acceptable; none should be over seven years old nor should any animal weigh less than 600 pounds, while each delivery should average 700 pounds; and no animal was to be accepted which would net less than fifty percent of its gross weight. This last proviso was made to bar inferior Texas longhorns.¹²

In theory, purchases were carefully supervised by the Board of Indian Commissioners, and when possible its members performed their work with scrupulous attention to detail. There were too many agencies and too few commissioners, however, with the inevitable result that sometimes no member could function during a particular crisis.

Agent Burgess knew he had to act quickly to avert serious trouble from the runaway Pawnees. The cattle interests also knew that purchases were urgent.

While in Coffeyville, Burgess contracted for eighty-two head of cattle for immediate delivery.¹³ It was an unseasonable time for making such a purchase. Grass-fed cattle were in their poorest condition. Despite this, Burgess had to pay \$3.50 per hundred-weight, a top price for very poor cattle. Most dealers were reluctant to sell at any price, for in the next three months of good grazing their cattle would take on considerable weight.

The cattle were delivered at the Pawnee agency under rather extraordinary circumstances.¹⁴ On the way to the agency, a drive

10. Matlock to Smith, July 10, 1876—OIA, Pawnee, M-572/1876. The supplies were delivered on April 17.

11. Burgess to Smith, May 11, 1876—OIA, Pawnee, W-583/1876.

12. Nicholson to Smith, July 17, 1877—OIA, Central Superintendency, C-914/1877.

13. R. C. Crowell to Smith, June 6, 1876—OIA, Pawnee, C-488/1876.

14. *Report of Board of Inquiry* convened by authority of letter of Secretary of Interior of June 7, 1877, to investigate certain charges against S. A. Galpin concerning irregularities in the Indian Bureau (Washington, 1878). As noted above, Galpin in the winter of 1876-

of approximately 120 miles which led through the Osage reservation, the cattle were thrown off the route into an out-of-the-way place and hidden all day in order to avoid an Indian inspector, then driven by the Osage agency in the middle of the night.¹⁵

On arrival at the agency, the cattle were corralled and weighed in the presence of Burgess.¹⁶ According to testimony gathered the next year, the weighing was done in this manner: As ten animals were driven up to be weighed, two cowboys stepped on the scales, thus increasing the recorded weight by that amount. Finally the herd foreman told the boys that since they weighed almost as much as a cow they had better not get on the scales again as the cattle were weighing too much.¹⁷ The herd was then accepted by the agent.

The Indians quickly consumed the cattle, but the deal remained to haunt the official career of Burgess. The attempt of the government to prosecute the principals who had disposed of the herd gave pause to many not too scrupulous contractors while the investigation was under way.¹⁸

At the fall letting of beef contracts the Board of Indian Commissioners contracted with Thomas Lanigan for 1,500,000 pounds for the Pawnee agency.¹⁹ Only healthy, merchantable beef cattle averaging 700 pounds were to be delivered, with a minimum weight of 550 pounds.²⁰ Lanigan was permitted to furnish a greater proportion of cows to steers than the customary one to four ratio. Since cows could be purchased for one-third less than steers, this

1877 made a tour of investigation of certain agencies. He, in turn, was closely followed by William M. Leeds, representative of the Board of Indian Commissioners, who was at Pawnee in January, 1877. The board of inquiry visited Pawnee in the summer of 1877 and besides investigating the investigations of Investigator Galpin, proceeded to gather affidavits and sworn statements from various agency employees about the personnel and the method of supervision and contracting of Agent Burgess. The report of 65 pages, testimony of 546 pages, and appendix of 99 pages is exhaustive and complete.

15. The coming of an inspector was always an event of ominous disquiet. Contractors, traders, and agency employees were usually forewarned of his impending arrival by their friends in the border towns. For an interesting study of the animus toward inspectors see the chapter entitled "When Big Cats Were Around," in Clark Wissler's *Indian Cavalcade* (New York, 1938).

16. Departmental regulations were very strict about the certification of vouchers, etc., and required the affidavit of an inspector certifying to the propriety of all purchases. In this case Agent Burgess did the inspecting.

17. *Report of Board of Inquiry*, p. xxx. See also the testimony "Irregularities at Pawnee Agency," pp. 527-546.

18. This fact is clearly brought out in the letter of J. R. Hallowell, United States district attorney, Kansas, to Attorney General Charles Devens, April 19, 1880, in regard to the case of *U. S. vs. William Burgess, et al.*, conspiracy to defraud the United States, in which Hallowell wrote: ". . . the effect of this prosecution has been of benefit to the government in staying the desire of Indian contractors and agents to become suddenly rich by speculations." —OIA, Pawnee, I-485/1880.

19. "Contract made at the Annual Letting, St. Louis, September 6, 1876," in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Executive Document No. 1, Pt. 5*, p. 560 (Washington, 1876, Serial 1749).

20. Nicholson to Peck, August 22, 1877, in OIA, Pawnee, J-597/1877. George R. Peck was the United States district attorney at Topeka, who began the prosecution of Agent Burgess.

concession meant a neat profit to the contractor but inferior beef for the Indians.

In the summer and fall months of 1876, the death rate among the Pawnees increased, largely due to malaria and pneumonia aggravated by malnutrition. In two years preceding the fall of 1877, some 800 tribesmen out of 2,376 had died.

The question of what was wrong at Pawnee began to embarrass Washington. Investigations were started that did not stop until a victim, Burgess, was found, and passions were aroused that were not appeased until the commissioner of Indian affairs himself was summarily removed from office.²¹ S. A. Galpin, chief clerk of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and William Nicholson, head of the Central Superintendency, appeared at the agency on December 24 as major inquisitors; in less than two weeks the powerful non-sectarian Board of Indian Commissioners had its representative, William Leeds, on the scene searching out irregularities. After the new Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, took office, he was quick to capitalize upon any event of the preceding administration that might portray him in the better light. Schurz refused to retain J. Q. Smith as his Indian commissioner and started an exhaustive search by a board of survey for irregularities in the Indian Bureau.²²

The board members, Joseph K. McCammon of the Attorney-General's office, Maj. Thomas H. Bradley, of the U. S. army, and George M. Lockwood, chief clerk of the Interior Department, had many clues concerning the cattle deal engineered during the exigency in April of the preceding year when beef had been accepted that was clearly below the government's standard. It uncovered irregularities in the method of weighing in the beef and also gathered data that pointed to the possibility of collusion between the cattle-men and the agent.

The board was led to believe that Lanigan, Masten, Leach, Eldridge, and Crowell were really partners in a pool that had defrauded the government. In April, 1876, some eighty head of beef cattle were sold at or near Coffeyville by a dealer at \$2.50 per hundredweight gross to Joseph C. Leach, who told the dealer the cattle were for the Pawnee Indians. The cattle were of inferior

21. *New York Tribune*, January 29, 1880, mentions that all the denominations were active against Commissioner Hayt but none more so than the Hicksite branch of the Society of Friends.

22. *Ibid.*, January 31, 1880, had the following comment in an editorial: "It is no secret in Washington that the President consented with very great reluctance to the removal of Mr. Hayt's predecessor, Mr. John Q. Smith, and that he never was convinced of its wisdom; but Secretary Schurz would not on any condition consent to his retention. He was determined to 'reform' the Indian service, and must be allowed to choose his own assistants to carry out the policy he had marked out for himself. . . ."

quality, having been wintered on the range, and were mostly yearlings and two-year-olds. They were hardly fit for food.²³

Eldridge and Leach certified that on April 28 they delivered to R. C. Crowell eighty-two head of cattle weighing 74,456 pounds gross at \$3.10 per hundredweight. Now if these men were partners, this was merely a book transfer which gave them a chance to raise the price of the cattle sixty cents per hundredweight. Furthermore, the eighty-two head purchased by Leach at \$2.50 per hundredweight had averaged only 620 pounds, grossing 50,840 pounds; these cattle averaged 902 pounds. Much evidence was gathered to show that the herd, costing \$1,271, was represented to the government as costing \$2,308.13. The difference, a profit of \$1,037.13 on a \$1,271 investment, was alleged by the board to have been unlawfully earned. The cattle were accepted by Agent Burgess as weighing 73,718 pounds, an average of 899 pounds. He paid \$3.50 per hundredweight for the herd, a total of \$2,580.13.²⁴

The board of survey probed into the agent's apparent abuse of his open market purchasing privilege. Its members, McCammon, Bradley, and Lockwood reported that the cattle were salted and fed with fresh grass immediately before delivery, that the rule that cattle should not stand in water or be fed for at least twelve hours before delivery was openly disregarded, and that cattle belonging to the Osage agency were accepted at Pawnee with the Osage brand upon them. Some of the later deliveries were not properly weighed in order to see that each animal met the minimum requirements of the Indian Bureau. A few heavy cattle were accepted as average representatives of a large herd of inferior yearlings, two-year-old steers, and cows; even two-day old calves were accepted by the agent as weighing hundreds of pounds.

When Superintendent Nicholson and Chief Clerk Galpin had inspected the agency herd at Pawnee in December, 1876, they were of the opinion that Burgess had accepted many inferior cattle. They believed, however, it was not because of any fraud by the R. C. Crowell Co., who represented Lanigan, and the agent, but rather because of Burgess' general laxity and want of force, "which were likely to prove quite unequal in dealing with positive men."²⁵

23. *Report of Board of Inquiry*, p. xxix. Exhibits 40, 41, 42, 116, pages 21-30, 81-84 in the appendix pertain to the Pawnees.

24. Presumably the drive of 120 miles from the place of purchase to the place of delivery caused a gross shrinkage of 738 pounds if the figures on the voucher of R. C. Crowell Co. were correct. However, if the cattle were the same recently purchased by Leach, the apparent difference in weight of 23,616 pounds left some doubt as to the honesty of the transaction, so much so that the evidence was later submitted to a grand jury.

25. Nicholson to Peck, August 22, 1877, in OIA, Pawnee, J-597/1877. In his report to Smith, January 26, 1877, Galpin pointed out many items as evidences of shiftlessness in the

Leeds was much perturbed when he found that no record had been kept of the individual weights of the cattle received for beef. He noted that on November 18 a delivery of 475 head was made, but the number of cows, steers, and calves had not been registered and only the total weight of 420,039 pounds was on file. Of the entire number received, about one-fourth had died before his visit. He attributed this unusually heavy loss to the fact that Lanigan had delivered so many old, unsound cows. Leeds also found that of fifty calves "which were weighed and accepted on a contract which calls for the delivery of good beef cattle, weighing not less than 550 pounds, but thirteen have survived the severe weather of December and January."²⁶

Agent Burgess had enough, and asked to be relieved from his duties.²⁷ The commissioner of Indian affairs replied that his resignation would be effective as soon as a successor could qualify.²⁸

When Schurz moved into the Interior Department he felt that the Indian Bureau needed a house cleaning from top to bottom.²⁹ With this in view, by a letter of June 7, 1877, he empowered the board of inquiry mentioned above to investigate charges against Galpin and to ferret out all irregularities in the bureau.³⁰

management of the agency. He included this paragraph in his report: "Whatever of success may have attended Agent Burgess' efforts while on the reservation in Nebraska where they (the Pawnees) were fully located and nearly self-supporting, with suitable buildings, and the whole course of the agency business was running smoothly in established channels, I do not consider him to possess enough of firmness, of executive ability, and administrative capacity, to manage with proper economy, and attention to detail, the establishment of this agency, and to turn again in the direction of self-support the energies of this disheartened and to some extent, demoralized tribe."—OIA, Pawnee, G-79/1877.

²⁶. Leeds to Kingsley, February 5, 1877, in OIA, Central Superintendency, K-101/1877. E. M. Kingsley was chairman of the purchasing committee that had charge of awarding contracts.

²⁷. Roberts to Smith, March 2, 1877, in Department of the Interior, Appointment Division, Indian Agencies, Box 68 (1849-1878), National Archives.

²⁸. Smith to Burgess, March 14, 1877, in OIA, "Record of Letters," Book No. 132, p. 528. Charles N. Searing, who was acting at the Santee agency, was recommended by the Committee of Friends for the appointment. He relieved Burgess May 16, 1877.

²⁹. *The Advance*, Chicago, November 22, 1877. Hayes had Smith confirmed as consul general at Montreal. Schurz carefully surveyed the field before appointing Ezra A. Hayt, a former member of President Grant's Board of Indian Commissioners and for some years publisher of the *Christian Intelligencer*, of New York, to the important position of Indian commissioner. Hayt had been a successful merchant and business man. The Board of Indian Commissioners presented a resolution to Secretary Schurz commanding his appointment of Hayt.—See *New York Tribune*, January 12, 1880.

³⁰. The chief clerk of the Indian Bureau was by law the acting commissioner when a vacancy occurred in the bureau headship or when the commissioner was absent from the office. Chief Clerk Galpin, at his own request, was relieved from duty pending the investigation of the charges preferred against him.—See *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1877. Schurz, at the same time, appointed another board to examine into the money and property accounts of the various agencies.—See *Topeka Commonwealth*, June 8, 1877. Indian Commissioner Smith, although a good friend of President Hayes, realized that Schurz would not let him remain in his present position. Rumor had him accepting the position of commissioner of agriculture (*Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 26, 1877) or an appointment to the Belgian mission (*Chicago Inter Ocean*, September 22, 1877), but he was finally placed as consul at Montreal. Schurz was trying, meantime, to find a commissioner of his own choosing. Joe Medill, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, had intimated that he would like the place (*Chicago Inter Ocean*, June 13, June 14, 1877); the position was tendered to F. Rawlings of North Carolina, effective August 1 (*Topeka Commonwealth*, July 26, 1877); E. A. Hayt was settled upon at last and he accepted October 1, 1877.—See *Chicago Inter Ocean*, September 18, 22, October 26, 30, 1877.

Although the board's report was not published until the next year, Schurz was soon aware of its activities. Before it held hearings, he knew that Lanigan had the contract for furnishing 1,500,000 pounds of beef to the Pawnees.³¹ He was also familiar with the report Leeds had made for the Board of Indian Commissioners. As the board of inquiry proceeded to uncover new allegations pointing toward a conspiracy in the beef deliveries at the Pawnee agency of the preceding year, Schurz had the satisfaction of realizing that his suspicion all was not well in the Indian Bureau was being borne out by the evidence uncovered. When McCammon, Bradley, and Lockwood found that Galpin was acquainted with the beef contractors and, furthermore, that he was inclined to doubt the allegations against Masten, Eldridge, and Leach, the secretary began to feel sure that there was treachery in high places in the Indian Bureau. Schurz called Galpin to task for withholding information about the Pawnee agency. The chief clerk lamely replied that he had filed the allegations away and had forgotten about them. Schurz at once wrote him a curt letter of dismissal in which he said: "In my judgment an officer who fails to see the importance of prompt and vigorous prosecution of dishonest practices, or where, seeing it, foregoes and neglects it, cannot safely be entrusted with any responsibilities in the management of Indian affairs. Your services will therefore from today be dispensed with."³²

The board of inquiry had met at Independence in September to begin the examination of open market purchases of beef made by Burgess the year before as well as the method for filling the regular Lanigan beef contract by the subcontractors.³³ The board found some hesitancy on the part of witnesses to testify against the powerful cattle interests. This hesitancy was heightened when one of the key witnesses, a cowboy named Parish Owens, who had taken part in the delivery of April, 1876, and whose testimony promised to be sensational, was killed by Clark Nichols, another young cowhand, at Coffeyville, though the killing had nothing to do with the alleged beef conspiracy.³⁴

Because of the reluctance of witnesses to testify and because

31. Lanigan to Commissioner, May 5, 1877—OIA, Central Superintendency, L-229/1877.

32. Topeka Commonwealth, January 8, 1878, quoting letter from Schurz to Galpin, January 7, 1878.

33. Peck to Devens, November 3, 1877, in OIA, Pawnee, I-802½/1877. This is a copy of a letter from the office of the district attorney, Topeka, to the Attorney General, and forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior.

34. The two young men were engaged in digging a grave when Owens provoked a scuffle. Getting the worst of it, he reached for his gun which Nichols took from him, and when the enraged Owens got his rifle, he was shot by Nichols in self-defense.—See report of D. W. Dunnett, filed with other bundles of the Central Superintendency for 1877 in the National Archives.

of their fear of intimidation, a detachment of troops—an officer and ten enlisted men—was sent from Fort Gibson to the Osage and Pawnee agencies.³⁵ The district attorney thought this precaution hardly necessary, but he did take a more active interest in the case and sent D. W. Dunnett, a lawyer of Coffeyville, to the Pawnee agency to examine witnesses and practices there.³⁶

As a result of the investigation an indictment for conspiracy was found against Burgess, Masten, Leach, and Eldridge. United States District Attorney George R. Peck asked Judge John F. Dillon to order another grand jury to assemble at the next term of the circuit court for the purpose of procuring other indictments. He felt that the chief contractor, Maj. Thomas Lanigan, might be incriminated.³⁷

The executive committee of Friends on Indian affairs in charge of the Central Superintendency, meantime, viewed with uneasiness the unfavorable publicity reflecting upon its appointee. The committee requested the commissioner of Indian affairs, E. A. Hayt, to prevent the publication or circulation of charges against employees recommended by the Quakers until the employees had had a hearing. The committee reminded Hayt that "when we accepted the great trust given to us by President Grant, it was expressly agreed that in case of any complaint against any of the agents or others who should be appointed at our recommendation that we should be promptly informed so that full and careful attention should be paid to it, and that such parties should have reasonable opportunity to reply to any complaints before they should be pronounced guilty."³⁸

Dunnett remained at Pawnee gathering evidence. At this time Hayt had a special henchman acting as clerk at the agency who dispatched lengthy and informative letters to the commissioner that reflected upon the past agents as well as the present one.³⁹ Much data concerning the general conduct of the agency was ready when the grand jury met in April, 1878.

It was alleged that Burgess had issued a voucher totalling \$869.80

35. "Special Order No. 197," headquarters, Department of the Missouri, October 31, 1877, in OIA, Central Superintendency, W-1072/1877 (copy). The troops were ordered withdrawn December 5, 1877—OIA, Central Superintendency, W-1247/1877 (copy).

36. Peck to Devens, November 8, 1877 (copy forwarded by the Attorney General to the Secretary of the Interior)—OIA, Pawnee, I-802 1/2/1877.

37. Peck to Devens, October 25, 1877 (copy to Schurz), in OIA, Pawnee, I-765 1/2/1877, and *ibid.*, November 3, 1877 (copy to Schurz), in OIA, Pawnee, I-802 1/2/1877.

38. Benjamin Tatham to E. A. Hayt, November 14, 1877—OIA, Central Superintendency, T-485/1877.

39. Hertford to Hayt, November 29, 1877, in OIA, Pawnee, W-598/1877. This clerk, Joseph Hertford, was no respecter of agents. He reported directly to Commissioner Hayt or to William Leeds, former traveling representative of the Board of Indian Commissioners who replaced Galpin as chief clerk and often acted as commissioner. His letters are long, detailed, picayunish, and officious. No agent felt free serving under his petty surveillance.

to Stacy Matlock, the Pawnee trader, for 240 bushels of corn at seventy-five cents a bushel (\$180), 650 bushels of potatoes at eighty cents a bushel (\$520), and 8,490 pounds of corn meal at two cents a pound (\$169.80). Matlock testified that he did not furnish the supplies mentioned; he had, however, sold Burgess sugar, coffee, tea, and other groceries and this was the only way he could get his pay.

Another voucher was made to J. W. Williamson for 500 bushels of corn delivered at the agency at seventy cents a bushel (\$350). The voucher showed that the corn was hauled about seventy-five miles at a cost of over fifty cents a bushel. Williamson testified he was employed as assistant farmer at the agency for seventy-five dollars per month. Burgess, in paying his salary, issued him this corn voucher for \$350, of which he received only \$100, the balance going to Trader Matlock, and to George Howell, agency clerk.

Burgess had issued a third voucher to J. E. Gillett for 200 bushels of corn at seventy-three cents per bushel (\$146). Gillett was the butcher employed at the agency. He knew of no reason why this voucher was issued to him as he had never furnished any corn to the agency. The only reason he could think of was that he was promised seventy-five dollars per month salary yet was carried on the rolls at only sixty dollars, but he was always paid the extra fifteen dollars each month.⁴⁰

An indictment was returned and filed April 20 with the names of twenty-five witnesses thereon, and Attorney General Devens instructed the district attorney to commence criminal proceedings against *Burgess et al.*⁴¹ But the legal machinery moved slowly and as one continuance followed another prosecution became more and more remote. George R. Peck, district attorney, was succeeded by J. R. Hallowell who wanted to become more familiar with the facts in the case before its trial.⁴²

The witnesses scattered, meantime. Three—J. K. Berry, Henry Spraul, and Newton Becker—cowhands who on that long-past day in April, 1876, helped deliver the cattle to the Pawnee agency, had no fixed abode and were likely to be on any of the cattle trails from Texas to Montana.⁴³ George F. Howell, agency clerk under Bur-

40. Peck to Devens, April 24, 1878, in Department of Interior, Appointment Division, Indian Agencies, Box 68 (1849-1878).

41. Devens to Schurz, June 3, 1878.—*Ibid.*

42. Devens to Hallowell, September 15, 1879.—Hallowell Papers (Kansas State Historical Society).

43. Hallowell to Devens, April 19, 1880—OIA, Pawnee, I-485/1880.

gess, was living at his old home in Mt. Ephraim, N. J.⁴⁴ Others were equally scattered, so much so that the United States marshal at Fort Smith as well as Dunnett thought it useless to try to subpoena them.⁴⁵

Other factors entered into consideration at this time. Hayt was summarily dismissed by Schurz from his position as commissioner of Indian affairs, much to the joy of Kansas politicians and the Society of Friends. The Quakers, goaded by Hayt's system of sending a spy to act as clerk at the Pawnee agency as well as by his abrupt dismissal within eighteen months of two successors to Burgess nominated by the society, at last informed Schurz that they declined to make any further nominations of agents or employees for the Pawnees and relinquished all responsibility for conducting the agency.⁴⁶ They had continued in active opposition to Hayt as long as he remained in office and were very active in expunging from the records of the Board of Indian Commissioners the resolution of praise offered at the time of his appointment.⁴⁷ Nor were the Kansas politicians too anxious to see the cattle interests successfully prosecuted. Sen. P. B. Plumb was attracted by the great profits to be made in leasing grazing land in the Indian territory, while at the same time he and Sen. John J. Ingalls had come to control the appointments to the various agencies bordering upon the southern boundary of their state.⁴⁸ Neither senator experienced the same zeal for civil service reform that motivated the Secretary of the Interior, since both of the lawmakers sympathized with the viewpoint of the Kansas contractors and cattlemen.

Schurz had been out of office hardly a month when the case against Burgess, Masten, Leach, and Eldridge was dismissed.⁴⁹ Thus closed unsuccessfully the first attempt at prosecution of an Indian agent.⁵⁰ Under the dominant leadership of Secretary Schurz the Indian Department had veered away from the Quaker agent policy of President Grant whereby Indian agencies were placed

44. Howell to W. A. Johnston, assistant United States district attorney, September 29, 1879.—Hallowell Papers (Kansas State Historical Society).

45. D. P. Upham to Hallowell, April 7, 1880, and Dunnett to Hallowell, March 13, 1880.—*Ibid.*

46. Roberts to Schurz, March 21, 1879—OIA, Pawnee, R-224/1879.

47. New York *Tribune*, January 12, 1880.

48. Devens to Hallowell, April 3, 1880, enclosing a communication from Rossington to Ingalls, urging the senator to use his influence in quashing the case of *U. S. vs. Burgess et al.*—Hallowell Papers (Kansas State Historical Society).

49. "Journal 'G,'" United States district court for Kansas, April 14, 1881 (Topeka).

50. No agent had ever been brought to trial, according to testimony of E. A. Hayt, commissioner of Indian affairs, on December 7, 1878, taken by the joint committee appointed to take into consideration the expediency of transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., *Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 53*, p. 330 (Washington, 1879, Serial 1835).

under the direct supervision of church organizations. Schurz used the Pawnee agency as a testing ground to show that church affiliation was not enough to assure successful administration in the agencies. With the withdrawal of the Hickside branch of the Society of Friends from Pawnee, a forerunner of church withdrawals from other agencies, and the growing preponderance of senatorial power over agency appointments, political rather than church preference became the chief qualification for entrance into the Indian service.

The irregularities at the Pawnee agency, a minor incident in Indian Bureau maladministration, were magnified to national importance by the reforming Secretary of the Interior. The attendant investigation and publicity contributed to a closer supervision of open-market purchases made by Indian agents and to changes made in the record-keeping of finances in the Indian Bureau. More powerful responsibilities were delegated to the Board of Indian Commissioners.

Years later the Pawnee Indians made an unsuccessful attempt to recover from the United States the funds alleged to have been dissipated by Agent Burgess.⁵¹ The government contended that the testimony offered was insufficient to establish the fraud charged against Burgess. Although the Pawnees lost in their effort to recover the misspent tribal funds, the indictment and threat of prosecution of the former agent had acted as a deterrent to contractors who continued to supply the agency.

51. On February 2, 1911, Senate Bill No. 10,830 of the 61 congress was passed which permitted the Pawnee tribe to sue the United States. The case was referred to the court of claims where a petition was filed October 3, 1913. Among the several claims was one for \$8,000 as damages alleged for frauds perpetrated on the plaintiff by their agent in furnishing supplies to the tribe. In the decision given December 6, 1920, this claim was not allowed.—See *The Pawnee Tribe of Indians vs. The United States* in court of claims, No. 17324 Congressional, 66 Cong., 3 Sess., Senate Document No. 311 (Serial 7794).

Circuit-Riding in Southwest Kansas in 1885 and 1886

The Letters of Jeremiah Evarts Platt

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

THE writer of these letters was born in Plymouth, Conn., May 28, 1833, fifth child of Jireh and Sarah (Dutton) Platt.¹ When he was six weeks old the family moved to Mendon, Adams county, Ill., where Jireh Platt helped found the first Congregational church in the state.

When Jeremiah E. Platt was twenty-three, he left college to come to Kansas and assist the Free-State cause. He preëmpted a claim of 160 acres, two miles south of Wabaunsee, the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony settlement. For several years he taught school, and served as the first county superintendent of Wabaunsee county.² On April 3, 1860, he married Sarah Jane Smith, native of Maryland.³

In 1863 they moved to Topeka. Late that year Platt was elected to the faculty of the Kansas State Agricultural College at Manhattan, where he served from September, 1864, to June, 1883.⁴ He was at first head of the preparatory department and professor of vocal music; later he taught mathematics and elementary English.⁵

During his nineteen years in Manhattan, Professor Platt was deeply interested in the work of the Congregational church. He often preached to congregations in the outlying districts, although he was not at that time ordained.⁶ When he left the college faculty

1. There were seven other children, three of whom were later Kansas residents: Henry Dutton (b. 1828), Enoch (b. 1825), Julius Sarah (b. 1826), Mary (b. 1830), Luther Hart (b. 1835), an unnamed infant (b. 1838), and Martha (b. 1839). Henry D. settled in Nebraska; Enoch became a farmer in Wabaunsee county; Luther H. was for many years a Congregational minister in Kansas, and Martha married Amos Cottrell and lived in Wabaunsee county. For additional biographical information on the Platts see *Portrait and Biographical Album of Washington, Clay and Riley Counties*, . . . (Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890), pp. 1129, 1130; *Forty-Fifth Annual Session of the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches of Kansas* . . . *May 11-15, 1899* (Press of Claude O. Funk, Wichita, 1899), pp. 36, 37, and *The Platt-Cottrell-Smith Reunion Held at Wabaunsee*, . . . *August 25, 26 and 27, 1917* (Kirwin Kansan Print, 1917?).

2. Andreas, A. T., and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 992. Platt was superintendent of Riley county schools from 1865 to 1868.—*Ibid.*, p. 1305.

3. "U. S. Census, Kansas, 1860," v. V, p. 281, in Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society. The Platts had four sons: George L., Henry Augustus, Emery M. and Edward L.

4. Willard, J. T., *History of the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science* (Manhattan, 1940), pp. 19, 72, 73.

5. He was given an honorary M. A. degree by the college in 1872.—*Ibid.*, p. 444.

6. Jeremiah E. Platt was ordained September 27, 1888, at Clay Center.—*Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Session of the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches of Kansas* . . . (Kansas City, Kan., *Daily Gazette Book and Job Print*, 1888), p. 56.

in 1883 he was appointed state superintendent of mission work of the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society. From that time on he engaged in organizing Sunday schools, and traveled over the state holding numerous institutes. After serving nine years in Kansas, he was transferred to Oklahoma. He died in Guthrie Okla., on April 16, 1899.

Several of Platt's letters, written while he was engaged in organizing activities in southwest Kansas, were printed in *The Nationalist* of Manhattan. On May 1, 1885, *The Nationalist* reported:

Prof. Platt returned from the southwest part of the state, last Monday. He has organized six Sunday schools in Pratt and Edward[s] counties, the last month. He says that it is almost astonishing how rapidly these counties have filled up with settlers the last year. Pratt Center is only a year old, and is almost one-third as large as Manhattan, and presents quite a city appearance.

Whole townships which a year ago had scarcely a settler in them, are now almost entirely pre-empted. All that country needs to make it valuable for farming, is a suitable amount of rain; and the professor states that a week ago last Monday night they had the heaviest rain that he ever saw in any country. Twelve inches of water must have fallen in one night. He returned to that part of the state on Thursday, and will canvass Comanche and Barbour counties in Sunday school work the next month.

He preached in several communities last month, where the people had not heard a sermon since they came to Kansas. He will preach, and organize a Sunday school next Sunday at a little town, three months old, called Brenham,⁷ thirty miles southeast of Kinsley, where a sermon has never been delivered. He is happy in his work.

The letters which follow are of particular interest because they cover a phase of development in the southwestern part of the state which has scarcely been touched by historians.

II. THE LETTERS⁸

CAVE CREEK, COMANCHE Co., MAY 11 [1885].

Leaving the A[tchison]. T[opeka]. & S[anta]. F[e]. railroad at Kinsley, Edwards Co., I mounted my pony, crossed the Arkansas river and rode in a southeasterly direction five miles through sand hills without settlements. Emerging from these, I came upon a beautiful prairie, in which is the new town of Wendall,⁹ surrounded

7. The Brenham Town Company charter was filed February 12, 1885. Its directors were William G. Dickinson and William A. Coats of Topeka, George E. Johnson, S. D. Robnett and Charles H. Landis of Brenham. After the re-creation of Kiowa county in 1886, Brenham was placed in Kiowa county by the change of boundaries. It was originally located in secs. 17 and 18, T. 28 S. R. 17 W., Edwards county.—“Corporation Charters (official copybooks from office of Secretary of State, now in Kansas State Historical Society),” v. XVI, p. 454.

8. Published in *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, May 22, June 19, September 4, December 18, 1885, and August 20, 1886.

9. The charter of the Wendell Town Company was filed February 19, 1885. Its directors were James H. Gill, W. P. Brush, James K. Manuel, O. P. Huston, Alex H. Divine, J. J. Reeder and G. B. Hampton.—“Corporation Charters,” v. XVI, p. 462. The town was located

by settlers in every direction. Again riding through ten miles of hilly, sandy land, came in sight of the pretty little town of Brenham, thirty miles from Kinsley. Here I spent Sabbath, May 3rd, and preached to a congregation of over sixty persons, seated on boards, barrels, boxes, kegs and chairs, in a new store building just being erected. It was the first sermon ever preached in the town. I also organized a Sabbath school, the people electing Mr. Wm. Shinkle, a student of the Agricultural College some twelve years since, as superintendent. It gave me good cheer to shake his hand, who, with his cheery wife, entertained me for the night.

The same day I also organized the first Sabbath school in a well settled neighborhood, five and a half miles south of Brenham, just in the north edge of Comanche Co. Nearly all the people have taken claims here within the last eight months.

Proceeding south from this settlement, Monday, I passed through a wild, hilly country, the head waters of the Medicine Lodge river, where were no settlers, except on one cattle ranch. This man had fenced in a pasture, which I passed through, ten miles wide. Leaving the pasture, I passed through another tract of wild land without settlers, except prairie dogs, owls and coyotes, there being large villages of the former. Night coming on, I feared that I should not reach a dwelling where shelter could be obtained before dark and I should be obliged to camp with my pony on the prairie, but reaching Mule creek, saw a two story, white house; rode up to a man standing in the yard, asking if I could stay with him overnight. "Reckon so," said he, "where are you from?"

"From Manhattan."

"Aren't you a good ways out of your latitude?"

"I am a good many miles from home; am riding through these new counties organizing Sunday schools."

"Sunday schools!" adding a fearful oath, "yes, you Sunday school men and preachers are just playing hell with this country. You are bringing in a lot of settlers here that are just spoiling our range. We haven't any use for such men as you in this country."

I did not know but he was going to draw a six-shooter and put a bullet right through me on the spot, but he said "Get down and come in. Jimmie, take care of this gentleman's horse. Walk in." And he showed me into his parlor, where was a Brussels carpet, costly

in sec. 21, T. 26 S., R. 18 W., near the center of Edwards county. The hope of its founders that the town might be the county seat was short lived. Establishment of Kiowa county from parts of Edwards and Comanche counties left Wendell far from its advantageous central location. By 1887 the town was practically dead.—See James C. Malin, "The Kinsley Boom of the Late Eighties," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV, pp. 45, 46. The site was officially declared vacated in 1895.—*Session Laws of 1895*, Kansas, p. 506.

furniture and a beautiful piano; out to the dining room to an excellent supper, silver plate on the table, and to lodging in the most expensively furnished chamber that I have occupied in many a day, kindly entertained [me] in every way, and, in the morning, not a cent would he take for compensation. I found that he was a large cattle owner, had been on this ranche nine years, had fenced in with a substantial wire fence a pasture eighteen miles long and fourteen miles wide, and the settlers coming in obliged him to take down his fence and move his cattle. This made him angry at them. I asked him how he educated his family in this wild country. He replied, "Oh! I make them read the brands on the cattle. There is a good many brands about here and I make them read them all."

A ride of six miles brought me to Nescotunga,¹⁰ a bright little village, where I found the people had regular preaching and a good Sunday school. Passing southeast from there ten miles I came to Cave Creek, so named from a large cave, where a beautiful stream runs directly through a steep bluff, a distance of some four hundred feet, the bluff being about seventy-five feet high. Where the stream issues from the bluff are two large, rock walled rooms, the first being twenty-five feet wide, fifteen feet high, and seventy or eighty feet long. I was too much afraid of snakes and wolves to venture alone and in the dark into the second room, but am told that it is larger than the first one.

The best claims in this neighborhood are all taken, and here I organized a Sunday school yesterday (May 10) and also another eight miles southwest of this, and within five miles of the south line of the state. I rode within two miles of the state line and took a view of the beautiful Indian territory. For several miles on the north side of Salt creek, the top soil is as red as a burnt brick in Manhattan, and yet the people just believe it will yield forty bushels of wheat and eighty bushels of corn to the acre.

This county is thirty by thirty-nine miles in extent, and is rapidly filling up. Cold Water,¹¹ the county seat, is near the center of the county, is about one year old, and contains, perhaps, five hundred people. I have been able to hear of only four Sunday schools in the county. Have organized three and hope to organize three or four others.

J. E. PLATT.

10. The Nescutunga Town and Immigration Company charter was filed August 8, 1884. Directors of the company were Conally L. Dunn, J. W. McWilliams and H. N. Cunningham.—"Corporation Charters," v. XVI, p. 341. This Comanche county town was short-lived, but the site was not officially vacated until 1897.—See *Session Laws, 1897*, Kansas, p. 492.

11. Coldwater, county seat of Comanche county, was founded in 1884. The charter of the town company was filed September 30, 1884. The directors were Tim Shields, C. D. Bickford, G. W. Vickers and C. M. Cade of Coldwater, and Thomas Doak of Kinsley.—"Corporation Charters," v. XVII, p. 620.

FOWLER, MEADE COUNTY, JUNE 11TH, 1885.

It beats all the world. Language can hardly tell it. The Children of Israel going into the "promised land" don't equal it. A cattle man living in the southwestern part of Comanche county, by the name of Irwin,¹² whose father used to be a Santa Fe freighter from Ft. Leavenworth many years ago, said that he has seen a good many booms to California for gold, to Oregon and to the Black Hills, but he never saw anything equal to this rush to southwestern Kansas. A gentleman living near the north part of the same county told me that when he came there last August, a stake would hold a claim for thirty days. By September, a stake would not do; he must, at least, plow a furrow around it; by October, he must have a piece of ground broken; by November, if he did not have a house on it, some man would jump it. As early as February, the tide of immigration began to come so that he must not only have a house, but be in it; by March, his family must be there, if he has one; and by April, he must sit in his door with a double-barrel shot gun, and threaten to shoot every man in a covered wagon that did not keep off his claim.

Three weeks ago, I sat on my pony near the northwest corner of Comanche county and counted 120 houses, where, eight months previous, not one was to be seen, and no villages in sight either.

That is as beautiful, gently-rolling prairie as the sun ever shone upon. It is on the divide between the watershed of the Arkansas on the north, and the Red river on the south. One drawback, however, is the distance to water. A gentleman with whom I stopped, told me that he went four miles for water, pumped it by hand out of a well 175 feet deep, and then paid for it; the owner selling the water to pay for the pump.

Last Sunday, I preached to a congregation of 110 persons, and organized a Sunday school, where ten weeks ago there was not a dwelling within three miles.

It was at the little village of Appleton,¹³ twenty-five miles south

12. Undoubtedly Joseph C. Irwin, Jr., whose father had several large freighting outfits on the plains in the 1850's. J. C. Irwin, Jr., came to Dodge City in 1880 and established a cattle ranch in Comanche county. He removed to Oklahoma after the disastrous blizzard of 1886 which ruined many cattlemen. Irwin township, Comanche county, was named for him.—Isely, C. C., "He Knew the Old West When It Was New," in the Wichita *Beacon*, March 11, 1928.

13. In March, 1885, a party of homeseekers surveyed and staked off the townsite of Appleton, Clark county. It was located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 13, T. 30 S., R. 25 W. The town company charter was filed April 9, 1885. William H. Shelton was president, and Lewis G. Shearer, secretary. Thomas E. Berry, Wellington S. Cooper and John S. Shearer were directors.—"Corporation Charters" v. XVIII, p. 416. The Rock Island railroad built a mile north of Appleton, eventually forcing the removal of the town to the railroad. The Appleton *Era* of July 7, 1887, carried this statement: "Minneola is the name of the new town which is composed almost wholly of what was once a part of Appleton."

of Dodge City, in Clarke county, and was the first religious service held in the neighborhood. The town contained, last Sunday, three new stores and two dwelling houses. I have not heard how many have been added since, but the people expect several hundred houses in a few months. We met in a store building, in which the floor was laid just the day before, and only two days' notice of the meeting had been given. Last Tuesday night, I stopped with a man seven miles southwest of Ashland, the county-seat of Clarke county. He said that he came in last March, from near Glasgo, Mo., thinking to be about two counties west of where anybody lived, and to be about five years ahead of immigration, and start a cattle ranch. But, when he got there, he could scarcely get a claim; and finally, was obliged to jump another man's claim, who had left it a few weeks, in order to get anything at all desirable. Several towns have sprung up within the last few weeks, in Meade county, each expecting the county-seat to be located at that point, and a R. R. from Dodge City to Texas to pass straight through their town. And still they come, streams of covered wagons piling over beyond Meade into Seward and Kansas [now Morton] counties, clear to the west line of the state. Of course, only the better sections of these counties are thus thickly settled. There is much sandy land where the sand seems to have blown into hills and troughs like snowdrifts, or like the waves of the ocean, and much broken, hilly land, which is still wild and unsettled.

Are these people crazy, or is it good business sense? These are questions that I have not been able to decide. Probably one half will go back disgusted with the country. Many of these towns that expect to be a second Wichita will "get left"; and if the refreshing showers of rain should cease, and nothing be raised this year, multitudes of men will be glad to go back to their "wife's relations" further east. But it is my firm belief that those who stick by the land will see, e'er many years, this "wilderness blossom as a rose."

J. E. PLATT.

ENGLEWOOD, CLARK Co., AUG. 21ST [1885].

My last letter was written from Comanche county, several weeks ago.¹⁴ Since that time, I have traveled through Edwards, Ford, Finn[e]y, Clark, Meade, Seward and Stevens counties and have seen considerable of this southwestern country.

One of the things which attracts the attention of a traveler is the

14. Platt apparently forgot the intervening letter written from Fowler, Meade county.

rapidity with which some of these new towns are pushed forward. Meade Center¹⁵ in Meade county is a striking example of this. It is located on the west side of Crooked creek, near the center of the county. The first building was raised on the 20th of last May. On the 20th of July there were eighty-eight houses erected, and the last Meade Center paper reports one hundred and thirty-nine buildings with a population of near five hundred. Most of the new towns in this part of the state are started by a town company organized in one of the young cities of Kansas farther east, but this town company was composed mostly of citizens of the county. It has had a continued boom from the very first. As I left Cimarron, on the Santa Fe road, last Saturday morning, I noticed eighteen passengers on board the hacks bound all for Carthage¹⁶ and Meade Center. Probably a dozen would come in the same day on the hacks from Dodge City. Other thriving towns in the county, Fowler,¹⁷ Carthage and Belle Meade¹⁸ have all been pulling hard for the county seat, but Meade Center seems to have the inside track, yet it is quite possible that six months from this time the town may not contain half as many people as it does now. Englewood¹⁹ in the south part of Clark county, was started a few months since by a Wichita town company. It is a bustling little town of perhaps forty or fifty houses, and hopes to have a railroad soon, either by an extension of the Kansas Southern, or a branch of the Santa Fe from Dodge City, and to become the center of a great cattle trade from the south, making a second Wichita in size in the course of a very few years. Shrewd business men have figured out its future very precisely and the tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars they will make by booming this town, yet Oh, how liable to disappointment. Ash-

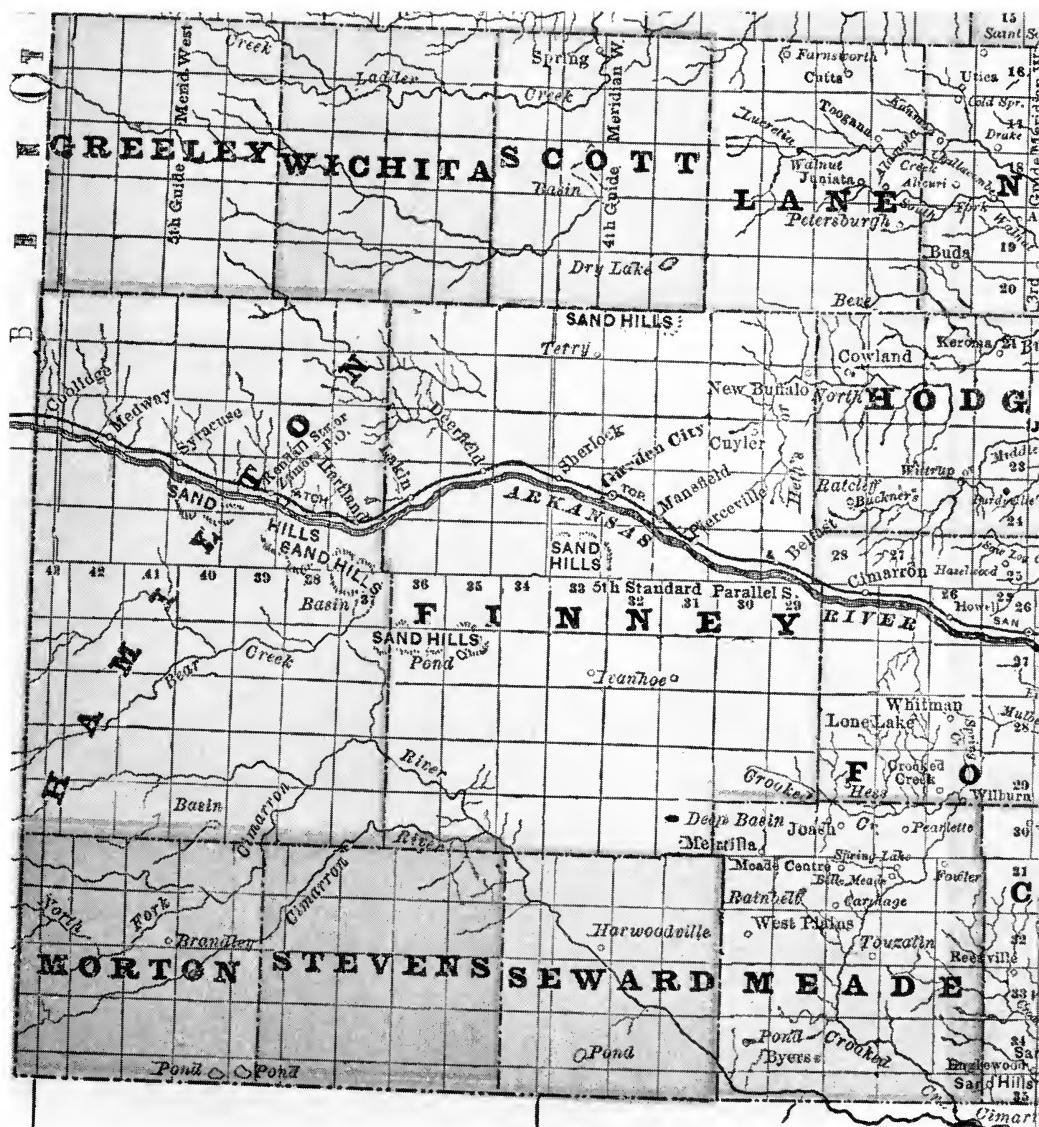
15. The Meade Center Town Site Company charter was filed May 25, 1885. Its directors were E. M. Mears, C. G. Allen, Henry H. Rogers, Alex Bail[ely], Isaac Graves, James A. Morris and A. D. McDaniel.—“Corporation Charters,” v. XVI, p. 562. On July 9, 1885, the company purchased land in secs. 2, 10 and 11, T. 32 S., R. 28 W. In October, by court order, the city of Meade Center was incorporated. By act of the legislature in 1889 the name was changed to Meade. The town has always been the county seat of Meade county.—Sullivan, Frank S., *A History of Meade County, Kansas* (Topeka, Crane & Company, 1916), pp. 26, 28, 29.

16. Carthage was located in the east half of sec. 31, T. 31 S., R. 28 W., Meade county. It was short-lived.—*Ibid.*, p. 38. The Carthage Town Company charter was filed August 15, 1884. The company's directors were: L. K. Myers, James N. Lawrence, O. E. Davis, A. W. Sheanahan and J. T. Saunders, all of Wellington.—“Corporation Charters,” v. XVII, pp. 525, 526.

17. The Fowler City Town Company charter was filed February 12, 1885. The directors were: Benjamin F. Cox, George Fowler, Solomon Burkhalter, Basil O'Donald and T. H. Campbell, all of Fowler.—*Ibid.*, v. XVIII, pp. 239, 240.

18. Belle Meade was located in S½ sec. 20, T. 31 S., R. 27 W., according to the town company charter filed June 6, 1885. The directors of the company were: Jos. M. Brannan, Robert P. Cooper, John Schmoker, James Elmore and H. Cheney, all of Belle Meade.—*Ibid.*, v. XVI, p. 571. Belle Meade was another short-lived town of Meade county.

19. The charter of the Englewood Town Company, of Clark county, was filed November 28, 1884. Directors of the company were N. E. Osborn, A. M. Denny, H. F. Friend, Grant Hatfield, E. A. Reiman, B. B. Bush, M. L. Munn, J. A. Friend, and S. J. Miller, all of Wichita.—*Ibid.*, v. XVIII, pp. 100, 101.



WHEN SOUTHWEST KANSAS WAS BOOMING—



WYOMING—FROM A MAP OF 1886

land,²⁰ the temporary county seat of this county, about eighteen miles northeast of this, has had a rapid growth, but now seems to be nearly at a stand. Harwood, near the center of Seward county, is being pushed by an Emporia town company.²¹ It is fifty-four miles south of Garden City, contains about fifteen houses among which are a comfortable hotel and three stores. It has an excel[1]ent well with wind mill from which water is hauled as far as twelve miles. New settlers on the high prairie not yet having wells, as they have to dig from one hundred to one hundred and seventy-five feet. Harwood is on the Cimarron river.

Thirty miles west of this, on a beautiful level prairie, fifteen miles from any human dwelling, I found a dozen men from McPherson trying to build a town which they called Hugo,²² and which they hoped would soon become a great city, the county seat of Stevens county. They had three small box houses and a tent, and were digging a well, then down only sixty feet, but they had no water except what they hauled in wagons fifteen miles, were then reduced to half a pailful, and expecting no more until the next day. Hence, I could not get a drop for my pony, and was obliged to ride fifteen miles out of my line of travel to the nearest water to spend the night.

There is no stream of water in the whole county except where the south fork of the Cimarron river crosses the very northwest township. There is not a tree in the county and only three families of actual settlers, yet a large portion of the best claims are filed on, either as tree claims, homesteads, or preëmptions, and people seem to think the county will be full of settlers within a year, and that

20. Ashland, county seat of Clark county, was founded in 1884. The town company charter was filed October 9, 1884. Directors of the company were James A. Cooper, W. R. McDonald, J. B. Nipp, A. J. Lyon, all of Winfield, and Frank Hall, Thomas Berry and C. W. Averill, of Ashland.—*Ibid.*, v. XVIII, pp. 13, 14.

21. Harwood or Harwoodville probably derived its name from W. I. Harwood, a cattle-man. He had resided in central Seward county "for a number of years," according to *The Prairie Owl*, Fargo Springs, November 5, 1885.

The first issue of the *Owl* in the Historical Society's collections—October 8, 1885 (v. I, No. 7)—carried Fargo Springs as the place of publication. Beginning November 12, however, it was changed to Harwoodville though the paper continued to boost Fargo Springs. Obviously Harwoodville and Fargo Springs were the same during these months for the *Owl* of January 14, 1886, reported: "This week our date line is changed from Harwoodville to Fargo Springs. . . . The mail leaving the post office, was stamped Harwoodville Wednesday morning, for the last time. Henceforth it will receive the stamp of Fargo Springs."

Fargo Springs, named for C. H. Fargo of the C. H. Fargo & Co. boot and shoe house of Chicago, was laid out in the center of Seward county in May, 1885, by the Southwestern Land and Town Co. of Emporia. The company had been chartered April 29, 1885, "to purchase, locate and develop townsites." Fargo Springs thrived for a time, but a fight for the county seat and railroad developed with Springfield, a rival town three miles north. It became so bitter that both towns finally lost out to Liberal, in the southern part of the county. The Fargo Springs and Springfield townsites were eventually abandoned.—See "Corporation Charters," v. XVIII, p. 468; *Emporia Weekly News*, May 7, 14, 28, 1885; *The Prairie Owl*, Fargo Springs, January 28, 1886.

22. Hugo, later Hugoton, became the county seat of Stevens county after a contest with the rival town of Woodsdale which resulted in several killings.—See Henry F. Mason, "County Seat Controversies in Southwestern Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. II, pp. 54-64. The town was named for Victor Hugo, French novelist.

the land ere many years will be worth twenty to fifty dollars an acre. Are they crazy, or is it good sense? I am unable to answer. It will evidently depend largely on the amount of rainfall in this section during the next four or five years. Garden City contains the land office for this southwestern district, and Receiver Hoisington²³ told me last week that he recorded about one hundred claim filings per day, and that nearly half of them were tree claims, and yet, should the next two or three years be as dry as some years in the past have been, how this country would depopulate! and claims could be bought for a mere song. This year the rains have been very seasonable in nearly all this part of the state, and crops of all kinds that have had half a chance have done well.

Of course late planted sod corn on the high land don't amount to much except fodder, but I have seen in these counties as good ears on early and well planted sod corn as I have ever seen in the Kansas river valley. Millet and sorghum have done splendidly on the sod, and a few fields of oats, and the settlers seem much encouraged and hopeful as to their future prospects.

From Harwood north to Garden City the settlers are very scattering, not more than three or four families to the township, and, thinking that I had already gone beyond Sunday school ground, I did not visit the last tier of counties on the west. I have organized twenty-six Sunday schools during the last few months in this part of the state and am now revisiting them. I am to address the people of this place tonight, and at Wilburn and Appleton next Sabbath. There are now twelve Sunday schools in this county, and fourteen in Meade county. I could hear of but two in Seward county (one of which I organized at Harwood) and none in Stevens county.

Respectful[ly],

J. E. PLATT.

BATES, PRATT COUNTY, Nov. 21 [1885].

Dear Nationalist:—Mounting my pony at Kinsley, Tuesday morning, Nov. 1, I started on a two hundred miles horse back trip through Edwards, Comanche and Pratt counties, visiting ten Sunday schools that I organized in that section early last spring. Five of these schools I found in successful operation, with a fair prospect of continuing all winter. The other five had either died a natural death, or had gone into respectable winter vacation. Two of them I have succeeded in reviving, by inducing the people to elect new

23. Andrew J. Hoisington. The town of Hoisington was named for him.

officers and to start in for a winter campaign. One school I found buried past resurrection this fall, and I hope to reorganize one tonight and another tomorrow.

With the exception of one day each week, in which the wind blew disagreeably, the weather has been most delightful, and it has been very enjoyable riding over these prairies. There have been several prairie fires during the last week, which have destroyed some hay and occasional[ly] a dwelling, but the people have learned to guard their houses pretty thoroughly against this annual destruction. The crops in the main have done well this year—sod corn, millet, sorghum, pumpkins, turnips—and prairie hay is selling in the west part of Comanche county as low as two dollars per ton. Quite a good deal of wheat was sown this fall, especial[ly] in Pratt county, and it general[ly] looked very well; yet the settlers have raised very little produce to sell, and many of them have spent nearly all the money they brought with them, and will be very short of means with which to buy clothing and groceries this winter. But little money is in circulation, and there is little work to be done for which money can be received.

There has been a good deal of change of the settlers of these counties during the last six months. Many young men, and some men with families have proved up their pre-emption claims, obtained their certificates and gone back farther east to obtain some employment. Others have proved up here, and have pushed on farther west to take tree claims and homesteads, that they might be the owners of more land. Some have sold out to new comers who did not wish to go farther west, yet many of the first settlers came to make for themselves bona fide homes, and intend to stick by the soil. They know what new country life is, and have come prepared to take it for better or for worse. They expect some dry seasons, but they have faith that this will prove a valuable agricultural country, and are doing their best to improve it; breaking up as much land as possible, planting out forest trees and orchards and building school houses of some kind, and they desire to encourage Sunday schools and churches. While many have gone back east, immigration seems still to be pouring in and through farther west. In passing east from Brenham to Wellsford on the Kingman and Dodge City road the other day, I met seventeen immigrant wagons in two hours of time, bound for Clark, Ford and Hodgman counties. A man told me he had known fifty such wagons to pass in a day recently, many of them going to homesteads which they filed on several months since.

Good tree claims are already getting somewhat scarce, even in the western counties.

While it is quite probable that much of this southwestern country will be parched with drouth in the near future, and many of the settlers starved out, and obliged to leave, I am more and more convinced that there is a Great Western Kansas which, in fifteen or twenty years from now will be as rich and productive and valuable as is the eastern part of the state, making Kansas the greatest and grandest agricultural state in the union.

J. E. PLATT.

CORONADO, WICHITA COUNTY, AUG. 7TH, 1886.

ED. NATIONALIST.—After traveling three years in Kansas, and in almost every county in the state, I must say that to my eye, this is the *finest county in the state*. That is saying a good deal, but the land here certainly lies most beautiful[ly], if one thinks of cultivating the soil. There are whole townships here where there is scarcely a foot of waste land, and the soil seems to be equal[ly] as rich as it is in any part of the state. There is abundance of good water in this county at less than one hundred feet in depth, many good wells at from sixty to eighty feet in depth.

Beaver creek, (marked Ladder creek on the maps) runs through the north part of the county from west to east and contains a never failing supply of running water from many excellent springs.

I should think a person could cut ten to fifteen tons of excellent hay on a single quarter section in many places along the creek. They have had splendid rains all through here for the last three weeks, quite frequently the last ten days. In fact, a man told me yesterday the ground was almost too wet to break prairie well. This is just the making of this country, as plenty of rain is the only thing necessary to make it the richest agricultural country in the world.

A hail storm day before yesterday, cut the corn, millet and little trees, badly, right in this section, but it was only a few miles in extent.

There are some good claims yet to be taken in this county, but they are daily becoming less in number. I never had the "claim fever" attack me as it has done during the last ten days.

This town, which hopes to become the county seat, was commenced last December, and now contains about sixty houses.²⁴

24. The charter for the Coronado Town Co. was filed October 2, 1885. Directors of the company were: Ed P. Greer, W. R. McDonald, F. S. Jennings, M. L. Robinson, Jas. H. Bullen, J. A. Cooper, and J. B. Nipp, all of Winfield.—"Corporation Charters," v. XXI, p. 98. McDonald, Cooper and Nipp were also founders of Ashland.—See Footnote 20.

They have nine stores, two hotels, two restaurants, two newspapers, and other things in proportion. A Methodist church has been organized here, and they have a good Sunday school.

Leoti,²⁵ three miles west of this, is a rival town, hoping for the county seat. They also have a good Sunday school.

There is another Sunday school in the county, twelve miles northeast from here, which I organized a short time since, and I hope to organize another twelve miles northwest, tomorrow.

There are so many tree claims in this county, and so many bachelors that are like the Irishman's flea, holding claims, and so many families that are holding five or six claims, and so many homesteads taken upon which the families have not yet come, that there are comparatively few places where it is practicable to organize Sunday schools. I have, however, organized two schools each Sabbath for the last three weeks. There are now six Sunday schools in Scott county, and fourteen in Lane county. I shall go west and canvass Greeley county, the last county west, before returning to Manhattan.

If there are Manhattanites that have the claim fever, I would recommend them to look at this county. There is a stage line from Wallace here every other day. My boys are on Sec. 5, Township 17, Range 35, and will gladly give any assistance or information that they can. The Taylor boys, from the Wild Cat, are also there.

Yours, J. E. PLATT.

25. The company which founded Leoti was organized at Garden City under the name of the Southwestern Kansas Development Co. Its charter was filed June 22, 1885. The company's directors were: Milton Brown and John P. Wallace, Garden City; Lilburn G. Moore and Leonard D. Cowan, Leoti; William H. Montgomery, MacEwensville, Pa.; D. L. Musselman, Quincy, Ill., and T. H. Brooks, Tecumseh, Neb.—"Corporation Charters," v. XVIII, pp. 587, 588.

Bypaths of Kansas History

BUSY LEAVENWORTH

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, April 9, 1859.

Our city is now over-run with strangers of the *genus* known as Pike's Peakers. They may be met with at every turn, and they and their wagons almost obstruct the levee and immediate vicinity of the large outfitting houses. They stand in knots at the street corners, move in small squads on detached service, settle on piles of dry goods boxes, cluster about the hotels and Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express office, preparatory to falling in with rifles at the shoulder for a final start.

One little episode which comes under our immediate observation, is an assemblage of seven wagons and twenty-three head of cattle on the vacant space in the rear of our office, which two weeks previously was known as the Lake of Como, but now affords a good camping ground.

The *Peerless* brought a full regiment to join the army of the West. On her arrival, the levee literally swarmed with people, very few of whom we had ever seen before.

Three Mile and Salt creek are lined with companies in camp, and their fires light the horizon on every side. Between this city and Topeka were met four hundred people *en route* for the mines, on one day of this week. There is scarcely a vacant lot within the city limits that is not an extempore camp, or covered with wagons and cattle for sale. The business which is being transacted here is something enormous, and yet the rush has only begun.

HISTORY REPEATS—SHIPBUILDING IN KANSAS

From *The Weekly Western Argus*, Wyandott (now Kansas City), March 21, 1860.

Yesterday the steamboat *Wyandott City* was launched at our levee. She is a most beautiful craft, intended for the Kaw river trade, 90 feet keel, 18 feet beam, and 4 feet hold, and as she now sits in the water, draws but about 3 inches. When her machinery shall be in, she will draw but about 6 inches.

Captain Wiltz is well deserving of the credit which he receives for building the largest and most handsome boat ever launched into the waters of the Kaw.

A large assembly of our citizens witnessed the launching, with a fair proportion of the fair sex. We shall soon see the *Wyandott City* "walking the waters like a thing of life."

From the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, September 29, 1942.

Another ocean-going ship destined for foreign service was launched yesterday afternoon in the Kaw river a few hundred feet upstream from its confluence with the fast moving water of the Missouri.

The launching was at Kaw Point [in Kansas] where Lewis and Clark once

stopped and where later, near the middle of the last century, river boats brought pioneers and homesteaders to a landing in the Middle West.

Many ships have been launched by the Darby corporation, which fabricates the seaworthy and heavily armored craft, since Harry Darby, president of the organization, established the shipyard early last June at Kaw Point. The number that has been produced, the shipyard pay roll, and specifications of the craft are restricted information. The new industry, the first of its kind in this part of the country west of St. Louis, has been a boon to Kansas City's overall pay roll and has shown shipbuilders on the two seabards that inland cities are to be reckoned with when it comes to doing any job for defense of the country.

When the ship slid down one of the 125-foot ways of the Darby shipyard and struck the water there was a blinding spray from the muddy water of the Kaw. A few moments later the ship had quieted at her mooring rope, ready for a trial run in the wider and deeper Missouri river. . . .

Building ocean-going ships here in the heart of America seems a little odd, but naval officials point out that Kansas City is a logical place, so long as the craft are not of such proportions that they cannot be maneuvered downstream in the Missouri river. . . .

A REAL "WHITE CHRISTMAS"

From the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 27, 1860.

A "FULL TEAM."—A novel and attractive display was witnessed on our streets yesterday. A large sleigh, filled with ladies, was drawn through town by thirty-two beautiful bay horses. There was a rider for every span, and the animals were driven at a dashing rate of speed. The whole "rig" was from the fort.

WHAT IT COST TO RUN THE STATE IN 1866

From *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, February 24, 1866.

APPROPRIATION BILL.—This bill is one which, just at this time, commands the respect and attention of many, who are interested pecuniarily. It was reported to the house with a supplement, on yesterday, and will probably be taken up Monday. The law requires that it shall be presented to the senate five days before the close of the session, and as but seven and one-half days remain, it is not probable that it will be sent in at the proper time. It is said to be much less than the one last year. That your readers may have some idea of what the expense of running our state machinery is, I give a few items:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Governor's salary, \$2,000; Secretary, \$1,200; contingent, \$2,000; postage, \$200.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Secretary, \$1,500; Clerk, \$1,200; stationery, \$1,500; postage, \$200; contingent, fuel, water, lights, &c., \$1,700.

AUDITOR.

Salary, \$1,500; salary as Librarian, \$150; chief clerk, \$1,200; postage, \$200; contingent, \$250; salary of clerk of military board, \$600.

TREASURER.

Salary, \$1,200; contingent, \$500; postage, \$50.

SUPERINTENDENT PUB. INST.

Salary, \$1,200; traveling expense, \$500; contingent, \$100.

ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Salary, \$1,000; postage, \$50.

ADJ'T GEN'L.

Salary, \$1,500; clerk hire, \$3,540; clerk hire deficiency for 1865, \$2,040; postage, \$200; office rent, \$300; contingent, \$100; books, \$400; contingent for Q. M. Gen'l's department, \$600.

JUDICIARY.

Reporter, \$500; Librarian, \$150; contingent, \$1,500; Judge Criminal Court of Leavenworth, \$500.

PRINTING.

Laws and *Journals*, printing and binding, \$17,700; transcribing *Journals* of house and senate, \$800.

CAPITOL BUILDINGS.

Rent to Messrs. Mills, Gage, Gordon and Farnsworth, \$1,500; repairs, \$500; repairing walls, trees, and grass seeds, \$550.

PENITENTIARY.

Boarding prisoners in Leavenworth and Douglas, \$9,000; directors, \$650; medical, \$500; boots, \$44.30.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Daily Record for members, 1865, \$500; printers' binding and clerk hire for census reports, \$1,500; clerk military board, Price raid, \$2,250; janitor of buildings, \$800; lamps, oil, wood, stores, water, etc., \$2,000; premium on salt, \$100.

There are about three hundred other small items, which, with the above, will amount in all to about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars annually. This will include the interest on the state bonds.



HIJACKED BY THE INDIANS

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, October 27, 1866.

A hunting party, composed of several of the most respectable families of Washington county—men, women, children and all—went on a buffalo hunting excursion on the Solomon, some seventy-five miles, or about that, from their homes, and after having captured a large number of buffalo and hauled them into camp, a band of Indians—of the Sioux tribe, it is supposed, came along and “corralled” the entire outfit. The Indians ordered the party to mount their horses and get home the best way they could, taking possession of all their wagons, provisions, and game. The party has returned safe and sound to Washington county, and feel well contented with their escape from death at the hands of the low, dirty, thieving savages of the prairie.

A "LOST" KANSAS INDUSTRY

From the Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, December 10, 1866.

There are five breweries in operation in this city, all of which make a superior article of "Lager," that is known and in demand throughout the state. . . .

Most of the barley used in this extensive business is brought from the northern counties of Kansas, via the river, though considerable is now brought in by the Pacific Railroad E. D. The average price paid for barley the last year is \$1.10 per bushel. The supply of hops is chiefly derived from New York state. . . .

SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR

Hands employed.....	45
Aggregate wages.....	\$39,000
Barley consumed, bush.....	46,500
Hops consumed, lbs.....	43,500
Barrels beer made.....	14,500
Barrels ale made.....	3,500
Boxes soda water.....	12,000
Beer reduced to gallons.....	449,500
Ale reduced to gallons.....	108,500
Soda to bottles.....	288,000
Value of material used.....	\$104,700
Value of manufacture.....	\$230,000

The above magnificent showing of the actual figures is the best commentary, and the only one needed, on the enterprise and resources of the metropolis, in the line of malt liquor manufactures.

NOT ENOUGH METHODISTS

From the Topeka *Weekly Leader*, January 23, 1868.

The boys tell a heavy joke on the president of the senate, Gov. [Nehemiah] Green, who, it is well known, is a preacher of the Methodist persuasion. It seems that a bill, conferring some special powers on the Methodists, was before the senate. A motion to "strike out the enacting clause" and thus kill the bill, was made and carried, and the somewhat excited governor thus announced the result: "Ten GENTLEMEN having voted in the affirmative, and only eight METHODISTS in the negative, the motion prevails."

BEFORE THE MEAT SHORTAGE

From the Junction City *Union*, November 21, 1868.

Gen. Sheridan says that he lately saw a herd of buffalo in the vicinity of Fort Hays, covering a territory ninety miles in length, and twenty-five miles in width, and estimates the number at three hundred thousand. The N. Y. *Tribune* remarks, "This would seem a large story, coming from other than the practical and gallant Sheridan; and we remember, also, the testimony of a distinguished traveler, who on his trip across the plains, was detained four hours awaiting the passage of a herd of buffalo!"

ADVERTISING DENTISTS

From the Chetopa *Advance*, December 22, 1869.

Persons whose teeth are decaying
 Should go to a dentist without delaying,
 And have them cleaned, then filled in
 With good gold, amalgam or tin.
 If your teeth have ached unto distraction,
 Come, go and have them relieved by extraction,
 Then, for a short time you will wait,
 And get a new set on a corral plate.
 Artificial teeth are extremely fair,
 They are everlasting—with care.
 For a set of teeth that are number one,
 Be sure to go to Dr. Patterson.

Chetopa, Kan., Dec. 20, 1869.

From the *Woodson County Advocate*, Yates Center, February 11, 1910.

DENTAL ECONOMY.—Cheap dentistry is not economical dentistry. Pay less than we charge and you get less for your money. Pay more and you pay more than is enough. There is extremes to any thing and a limit to quality for money. We cannot afford to put out work that is cheap in quality and that is why we have such a great reputation. Our work is not expensive for it has the quality yet it is not "cheap." Each and every piece of work we put out always is recommended so highly it draws others to us.

Our guarantee really guarantees.

Gold crowns	\$4.00
Common fillings .....	.50
Gold alloy fillings	1.00
Painless extracting.....	.50
Cleaning	free

Until February 19th.



LEARNING THE WAYS OF THE WHITE MAN

From the *Southern Kansas Advance*, Chetopa, January 19, 1870.

Some Indians who were trading in a store in Chetopa the other day, averred with much seriousness, that such cold weather was unknown here until the white man came and brought it with him.

From the *Parsons Surprise*, April 25, 1874.

Train No. 1 going south, Nick Yost, conductor, had some little excitement Thursday. At Chetopa, several drunken Indians got on and in a short time commenced to make things lively with train men and passengers. They slung two or three valises out of the window, but through the persuasive eloquence of the muscle of our friend Yost, they became quiet, and were forced to get off at Vinita.

From *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 7, 1876.

A new agent has recently been appointed for the Osage Indians. Upon his arrival at the agency he made a fatherly sort of a speech to his interesting and interested wards, in which he advised them to quit stealing and go to work and earn an honest living. After which the Indians held a council and resolved that: "New agent heap damn rascal; no want him."

NAVIGATION ON THE NEOSHO

From the Oswego *Register*, March 10, 1871.

Last Monday afternoon Al. Harlan, who has been foreman of the *Register* office since last July, G. W. McNeil, Calvin Jeff and Dan. Ebert took their departure, for the south, in a craft built expressly for the trip. The boat is fourteen feet long, six feet across the beam, and about twenty inches hold, capable of carrying a ton. It was safely launched at Howell and Rathburn's dam, a trial trip was made down to the Columbus road ferry, at which point "freight" was taken aboard, consisting of provisions, baggage, tents and blankets. The excursionists expect to "paddle their own canoe" as far down as Little Rock, Ark., at least. The Neosho will carry them into Grand river and Grand river into the Arkansas. Oswego is now "the head of navigation." The crew of the *Little Giant*, the first "through boat" on the Neosho, have a romantic, if not a pleasant, voyage before them.

TYING THE KNOT IN KANSAS

From the Ellsworth *Reporter*, January 16, 1873.

A newspaper in Ottawa county, Kansas, has the following: "Last week we announced the marriage of a young friend, and now it becomes our pleasant duty to announce that he is the father of a bouncing boy."

From *The Prairie Owl*, Harwoodville [or Fargo Springs], Seward county, January 14, 1886.

Garden City Special to the *Crusador*.—About 8 o'clock yesterday evening a tall, lean, lank, smooth face bashful youth with a blushing damsel on his arm stepped into 'Squire Smith's office and asked if his honor was present. Upon being informed by the clerk that Justice Smith had departed for the evening and would not return till 9 o'clock the next day, the countenance of our Kansas granger sank 2 degrees below zero, and he stood fumbling his hands in such a distracted manner as to make him an object of real pity. His fair companion evidenced her sympathy by shedding a few tears which she wiped away with the corner of her calico apron. Observing their embarrassment the clerk politely said, "Is there something I can do for you?" After some hesitation the youth replied. "You see sir we cum in tu git married sir, Jinny and me and we want to see the squire." The clerk again explained to them that the justice had retired for the night and that at that hour all the

other offices were closed and suggested that they return early the next morning to have the ceremony performed. With this the courage of our hero sank lower than before and whispering some tender words into the sunburnt ear of his dulcinea, they withdrew for consultation. Presently they appeared crest-fallen and disconsolate. "Shall I show you to a hotel," asked the clerk. "Now there's the pint," said the youth, taking courage. "We've only got 50 cents between us, just 'nuff fur one bed—a—and Jinny don't like to stay alone—a—and you see we thought we could get married and—and—" "Oh I see," said the clerk, and then with characteristic Kansas enterprise proposed a way out of the difficulty. "You understand," said he "that I am no justice but I am a justice's clerk and can perform this ceremony for you de-bene-esse, and can join you in marriage nunc-pro-tunc, but by the eternal you must promise to come back in the morning and let the 'squire' do the thing all over again or it won't hold." They promised and the clerk officiated and the twane were soon as happy as if the de-bene-esse-nunc-pro-tunc ceremony had been a genuine bona-fide ne-plus-ultra clincher.

From Frank S. Sullivan's *A History of Meade County, Kansas* (Crane & Co., 1916), in a chapter on "The Old Calaboose," p. 136.

He [an informant] recounted a romance in which the participants were a man and a woman, convicted on the same day,—he of disorderly conduct, she of vagrancy. Both were fined, and sentenced to stand committed until fine and costs were paid. Neither party having the necessary funds, the court was in a dilemma, as the jail was not provided with suitable accommodations for lady guests. The defendants relieved the situation and solved the quandary by offering to get married. A collection was accordingly taken up, a license procured, the justice performed the ceremony gratis, and the honeymoon was celebrated in the old calaboose.

HOSPITALITY AT OLD FORT HAYS

Grace Greenwood, who came from Chicago in 1873 for a visit at Fort Hays, wrote of her experiences under date of August 1, 1873. The letter was first published in an unnamed newspaper, and the clipping was pasted in D. Curror's scrapbook of "Victoria, Ellis County, Kansas," now in the Library of the Kansas State Historical Society. The Kansas Pacific referred to is the present Union Pacific in Kansas—Union Pacific means the Nebraska line.

. . . The journey from Chicago to Kansas City, via Quincy, was hot and wearisome to a degree, but once beyond the Missouri the pure air of the plains began to tell on exhausted nerves and depressed spirits, and good humor and good sleep became possible. The Kansas Pacific, though it passes through a greater extent of wild and arid country than the Union Pacific, is not on the whole a less interesting route—or would not be if more of the chief points on the road could be reached in the daytime. By this route, you have from Chicago to Denver three nights and two days—by the Union

Pacific you have three days and two nights. The more northern route is the cooler, and so, barring the danger from Iowa bandits, the pleasanter at this season. On the other there is the chance of seeing a buffalo herd. "You pays your money and you takes your choice."

Agricultural enterprise is steadily pushing its way on the plains and redeeming acre after acre from the loneliness and unfruitfulness of ages. Very far out on the prairie the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company are trying various important experiments in cultivating the soil without irrigation, and with quite satisfactory results. The dull, sad earth, so long subject to the hard pounding of bison hoofs, laughs out in bloom and verdure, under the gentle hand of industry. Corn and potatoes are doing well, and there are thriving nurseries of various forest trees, where tree has never grown since the great seas subsided and the ice-drifts melted slowly away under a thousand suns. Most flourishing of all is, I grieve to say, the ailanthus, called in horrible irony, "the tree of heaven." We encountered no buffalo on the second day's journey, but we saw immense herds of Texan cattle—far more agreeable objects than those tremendous and ugly brutes who used to thunder over these vast plains in mighty battalions.

On that day we were most hospitably and charmingly entertained by the president, secretary, and superintendent of the road, who chanced to be traveling our way, in their special car. I know not how it is, but such a car always seems to me not only pleasanter and more cosy than the ordinary Pullman, but to get over the ground more rapidly. Certainly nothing lagged or flagged, neither time nor steam, spirits nor tongues, that bright morning. A short distance below Hays City we took on Mr. [George] Grant, the head and front of the new English colony, called after the queen. Mr. Grant reminds one of the traditional "fine old English gentleman," a man of substance and acquainted with port. He is a strikingly aristocratic-looking personage, and Victoria colony is an aristocratic enterprise, its constitution providing that no member shall own less than a square mile of land. Scarcely any cultivation has yet been attempted, and but little building, though several of the proprietors are on the ground. They are, I understand, young gentlemen of high birth and some means. The peculiarly English passions for land-holding, and going forth shooting and to shoot, led them into this strange enterprise. Now they hardly hold the land; it holds them, and the railroad has so effectually stampeded the buffalo, the antelope, and even the jackrabbit, that it is hard to tell what they will do for game on their own desolate domains. They declare with true British pluck that it is "awfully jolly," but they are suspected of being desperately homesick.

At Hays, we were met by our friend, Col. C., and conveyed to the fort, about a mile away, in a grand army turn-out—an ambulance drawn by four gallant mules. But though our style of approach was military, and our escort warlike, we were received at Col. C.'s quarters into as peaceful and happy a home as can be found in any quiet Quaker community, where woman has "a soul above buttons," "draws a line at feathers," and studies metaphysics and mill, and where the men "learn war no more," raise prize pigs and poultry, and hatch out Indian policies.

Fort Hays is said to be the pleasantest military post on the plains. It is situated on rising ground, near a stream of excellent water. Along this stream

grow forest-trees of great size and beauty, which are carefully protected within the reservation. Beyond the government line, as far as one can see, vandals fit for the B. P. W. have swept away every trace of foliage. Hays is the headquarters of the Third United States infantry, commanded by that accomplished officer and gentleman, Col. Floyd Jones [De Lancey Floyd-Jones]. Some three miles away, the Sixth United States cavalry, under the command of Gen. Oates [James Oakes], is encamped in a lovely spot on the banks of the creek, under the shade of noble trees. All the married officers have their wives here, and there are several lady visitors living in tents with the utmost contentment, and fondly imagining they are "roughing it." But in fact, their tents are almost like royal pleasure pavilions, made beautiful and even luxurious by the simple decorative art of feminine ingenuity and taste. Nearly every tent is embowered in morning-glory vines; all are graced by books, brackets, statuettes, and pictures, and one contains a grand piano. Officers and ladies of the camp and fort exchange visits in the most neighborly way, and the combined forces form a most charming society. The regimental band at the fort is a remarkably fine one, and they have there a pleasant hall for musical entertainments and dancing. Our experience, during this visit, has been, I suppose, the experience of most guests at military posts, where hospitality—genuine, gracious, abounding hospitality, when driven from the cities—will make her last gallant stand. Certainly the kindness we have received has been most cordial and considerate—"New every morning, and renewed every evening." We have no words in which to express our appreciation of it.

We soon fell into harmony with the life around us, and felt its peculiar, picturesque, dramatic charm; its immemorial fascination. We have enjoyed with fresh zest the daily martial routine—reveille, guard-mount, drill, inspection, parade. We still start and tremble at the boom of the morning and evening gun. The fife thrills us; the drum rouses us, especially at reveille. We have never been sorry to hear it, 'tis so nice to know just how much longer one can lie and sleep, so as to be able to get up bright and early for a 10 o'clock breakfast.

The officers of the fort and camp are too pleasant and friendly, too much given to undress uniforms and citizen's dress, for us to have any romantic awe of them. But there is the drum major, a remarkably stately and imposing personage, whom we have never seen except on parade, and in gorgeous array. When looking on him we realize what war is in all its "pomp and circumstance."

The weather throughout our stay has been excessively hot, and the sunlight blindingly bright, in the middle of the day, but the evenings have been deliciously cool. We have spent them all, except two, which were squandered on a homily and a hop, in the open air—riding, or driving over the breezy, rolling prairie, or sitting on the piazza of our pleasant quarters, under the morning-glory vines, whose delicate blushing buds were swaying in the wind, and dreaming in the dim starlight of the splendor of their "coming out" "at five o'clock in the morning." Often the band has played for us till a late hour—forming, with their lanterns shining on their burnished instruments, a picturesque group on the parade-ground. On two or three nights, grand and awful, in the distance has shown a vast prairie fire, which, one having a poetic fancy could please himself by imagining a burning city, or a Dantean hell. Songs,

aneedotes, and wild stories of camping, marching, and exploring, have entertained and thrilled us, and witched away the hours. After tales of Indian fights, encounters with rattlesnakes have been most in demand. We shudder with creeping horror, and ask for more. One gallant captain told us the other night how, once on a winter march, in New-Mexico, or Arizona, his men discovered in a rocky canon a vast collection of rattlesnakes—surprised them in their winter camp, in a torpid and helpless condition, and actually slaughtered, in cold blood, some 800 of them, including the aged *crotalus*, and the female, with her young ones, sleeping peacefully, with their playful little rattles by their side. Such is war, unmitigated by philanthropy.

In these piping times of peace, clever young soldiers must exercise their finely cultured intellects in some way, and several of our Fort Hays friends have exercised theirs in training dogs of good blood to be useful, amusing, and companionable. The dogs of the post and camp are really most respectable and intelligent animals, whose acquaintance we have courted, and whose friendship we prize. First, there are the colonel's pets—Rip, a handsome, chestnut-colored, silken-coated setter, and Tot, a tiny, yellow, wire-haired terrier. Rip is a dignified dog, of high degree, who lives in his master's smile, and fares sumptuously every day. Tot is a little bundle of fidelity and affection. Her master is her providence and divinity—the star of her constant soul, the light of her beautiful eyes, and she creeps as close to his heart as she can get. When her little loyal heart shall cease to beat, the soldier and man of the world will miss something from life, something exquisitely tender and touching—a love that never questioned, or exacted, or failed, or faltered.

Our host has a good, honest pointer, named Hod—a trustworthy sporting dog—the gentle playmate, the humble slave of the beloved children of the household, but in society rather blunt and blundering, lacking in delicate tact. It is best not to be too familiar with him, as his friendship is a little overpowering. He imagines that you cannot have too much spotted pointer. He leaps up on you and crushes your frills, and licks right and left, and collides with you in doorways, and backs up against you, and sits down on you, and thrashes you with his tail. The surgeon of the post has two small terriers, called Nig and Fidget. The latter has been a great beauty in her time—she has yet fine eyes, but in figure a little too much *embonpoint*. The surgeon of the Sixth cavalry has a famous shepherd dog, named Buster, who accompanies him everywhere, to the chapel, for dosing, to the hospital, for dosing, to the hall, for dos-a-dosing. He is a good, loyal-hearted creature, a jolly dog, and so is his master. Perhaps the most accomplished dog of the garrison is a handsome setter owned by a scholarly lieutenant, and named Logarithm, but called, for short, Log. He knows all the usual tricks of liberally educated dogs, and makes light of them. They are the mere A, B, C of his attainments. He evidently understands every word his master addresses to him, and seems to hear his lowest tones even in his sleep. Should the lieutenant at any time casually remark, "It is cold, Log," he would arise and go and shut the door, without a glance at the thermometer. Our friend may congratulate himself that he has not lived in vain. Still, we meanly attempted to take him down by telling him of a dog in civil life—a dog of low degree at that—who, when asked to favor the company with a little music, will trot immediately to the piano, take his seat on the stool, bang away on the keys, throw back his head,

and howl like the primo tenore in the last agony of *Otello*. I thought the lieutenant seemed a little low after this story.

The names of the other dogs of the post and camp, all admirable in their way, are Kitten, Frolic, Jip, Dolly Varden, Tom, Imp, and Snips. Among the lamented dead are Adjutant, alias Tattoo, and Hyperbola. This last was a bright little terrier belonging to Log's erudite master. Its life was lovely, but its death was tragic. One day the lieutenant saw this small detachment of terrier set upon by a large force of bulldog, and was moved to "eave 'alf a brick at 'im." The big brute dodged the missile—the dainty little pet was struck down. Its distressed master bore it to his quarters and laid it on his bed, but it never spoke.

In the tent of Gen. Oates we found a singularly amusing pet—a young woodpecker—who came to them a perfect waif, dropping wearily down from a tree, and mysteriously tame. He goes about at his own sweet will most of the time, but for protection from prowling cats is quartered at night in a strong high cage, built with tender prevision over and around a small stump. He was at large during our visit, and when called by his name, Dick, would come hopping up to us, with his legs wide apart and his head on one side, a droll, friendly looking, surprisingly knowing little creature.

I shall never think of the pleasant and picturesque, but somewhat isolated and monotonous life of that camp and this post without remembering the pets, which give to it such a grace of cheeriness and good-fellowship. Let us call the roll again, and say good-by to Rip, Tot, Nig, Fidget, Kitten, Hod, Log, Buster, Frolic, Jip, Dolly Varden, Tom, Imp, Snips and Dick.

THE FIRST COURT IN KINGMAN COUNTY OPENED WITH MUSIC

From the Kingman *Mercury*, June 14, 1878.

A correspondent, writing to the Kansas City [Mo.] *Journal*, from this place, under date of May 20, speaks thus of the first court held here: "This morning the little village was crowded with people, who had come to attend the first court ever held in the county. The court convened in the school-house. Here an unusual event in the opening of courts in Kansas transpired. The usual rattling of spurs, display of firearms, vulgar language and ribald jest were absent, but, instead, several beautiful and appropriate pieces of music were sung, with organ accompaniment.

"At the conclusion of the music, court was opened by Deputy Sheriff McClain. The business (two cases) was soon disposed of, when followed addresses by persons as called upon. The first being Mr. George E. Filley, a promising young attorney of this place, who made a few appropriate remarks. Mr. Filley was followed by Hon. W. R. Brown, formerly judge of this (9th) judicial district, who related many amusing incidents connected with the opening of courts in new counties, when he was upon the bench, mentioning the first courts he held in Sedgwick, Butler, Harvey and Reno counties. Judge Brown spoke of the future before Kingman county, and predicted (and I think truly,) that it would soon be the peer of any county in the state. Mr. F. E. Gillett was next called upon, and responded in a happy manner. Mr. H. L. Ball, Major Bross, W. C. Hawk and C. D. Price all responded

briefly to calls made. Judge S. R. Peters closed court, after congratulating the good people of Kingman upon the rapid growth of the town and county."

The first court had but two cases to dispose of, and they were of slight importance: We trust that litigation will give the courts hereafter as brief terms as the first.

CHASED BY BUFFALO

From the *Garden City Paper*, June 5, 1879.

William Moore, living north of town, seeing several buffalo not far from his house, got his shot gun and shot at one, when the buffalo turned and run him into the house, and then walked quietly off.

EDITORIAL EXCURSIONISTS CALL AT DODGE CITY

From the *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, August 12, 1879.

What queer ideas Eastern people have of things in general out West. The editorial excursion that halted at Dodge yesterday, were wonderfully inquisitive when they beheld a large ox train standing near the depot ready for their trip south. The greatest curiosity was manifested by these people from the East, while some were endeavoring to ascertain the number of oxen hitched to one wagon and began counting the animals up one side and down the other; others were speculating how it was possible to get the yoke on these cattle with such extended horns, but when told that they had been yoked when quite young, they appeared perfectly satisfied, and were quite certain that it was next to an improbability to place yokes on oxen with horns six feet from tip to tip. Another was closely scrutinizing the wheels of the wagon, making measurement of the fore wheels and comparing the measurement of the hind wheels, which he found were considerable the largest. Just what particular ideas run through his mind we are unable to guess—unless it was how those small wheels could keep out of the way of the larger ones. Still another picked up one of the driver's long whips, and as he had early training in driving his father's oxen while he was turning over the virgin soil of Indiana, he of course could not resist the temptation of giving an exhibition of his skill in handling a bull-whip. The first sweep he made raked three bonnets and two plug hats besides twisting the lash around his own neck several times, which came very near choking him to death—he lost no time in extracting himself and getting to the car, where no doubt he was severely censured by the ladies and gentlemen for his actions.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Detailed histories of Catholic churches of northeast Kansas are a regular feature of the *Eastern Kansas Register*, published by The Catholic Press Society, Inc., of Denver, Colo. The series is appearing under the heading "Your Scrapbook of Kansas Catholic History."

In observance of the sixtieth anniversary of the First National Bank of Harper, Robert Duhorne, cashier, prepared a series of historical articles on the town which was published in the *Harper Advocate*, beginning January 1, 1942. The bank opened for business July 1, 1882, under the management of Louis Walton and George Thompson. The history of the Harper City Library was reviewed by Mrs. Gertrude Frances as an additional feature of the *Advocate* of February 19.

Letters from M. Q. (Ted) Sharpe, governor of South Dakota, and Dr. J. Jay Keegan, a neurological surgeon of Omaha, prominent alumni of Axtell High School, were printed in the *Axtell Standard*, June 3, 1948.

A column entitled "Clark County Historical Society Notes"—edited by Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, historian—printed regularly in *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland, featured the following subjects in recent months: "History of Clark County Newspapers," by John R. Walden, June 10, 1943; "McCaslands in Clark County," June 24; "Personal Sketch of Michael Sughrue," by Mrs. Ella Wallingford Mendenhall, July 8; "Cattle King Hotel," by John R. Walden, and "John Bell Craig," by Ella W. Mendenhall, July 15; "Reminiscences of Mrs. John Clay," July 22; "Reminiscences of the James M. Mendenhall Family," by Ella W. Mendenhall, July 29; "School District No. 71," by Grace Canton McKinney, August 5; "J. O. Keith, Early Clark County Pioneer," August 12, 19; "Henry Hudson, Jr., and Flora Josephine (Ingram) Hudson," by Flora J. (Ingram) Hudson, August 19; "J. H. Abbott," August 26; "'Barbecue' [Col. Burton Harvey] Campbell, Early Day Ranchman," September 2, 9, 16; "David S. John," September 16; "The Fox Family in Kansas," by Vivian Pike Boles, September 23, 30, October 7, 14; "A Short History of the Rous and Walden Families," by John R. Walden, October 21, 28, November 4, and "Ingram Family Notes," November 11.

The history of the St. Joseph and Grand Island railroad which Roy A. Roberts reviewed at a meeting of the Marysville Kiwanis Club was printed in the Marysville *Marshall County News* and *The Advocate-Democrat*, in their issues of June 17, 1943.

Since January, 1943, the Old Oregon Trail Centennial Commission of Portland, Ore., has released weekly newspaper stories to newspapers and libraries along the route of the old road, reviewing the trail's history on its 100th anniversary. *The Advocate-Democrat*, of Marysville, published excerpts from these articles on July 15, August 26, and November 4. During the year *Wagons West*, a thirty-two page, beautifully illustrated booklet, was also issued by the trail commission. Pictures of places and geological formations of interest along the trail were featured with a story of "The Great Migration—1843," by Philip H. Parrish.

Winchester newspaper history was sketched in the *Winchester Star* July 23 and August 6, 1943. The *Winchester Argus*, founded in 1877, was the first newspaper.

Victor Murdock has recently written on the following historical subjects of interest to Kansans in his column which regularly appears in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*: "Use of Word 'Wichita' by Establishments Here Was Marked From Beginning," August 2, 1943; "Frontier Horse-Stealing in Early Day Hereabouts Had Seasonal Feature," August 3; "Inquiry Into 'Jayhawk,' Word of Border Warfare, and Its Obscure Origin," August 4; "Wonders of Chemistry Came First to Wichita in Early-Day Drug Stores," August 5; "Rubber's Early Entrance Into the Commodities of Pioneer Community," August 6; "Community Dances Here Began With Single Fiddle and the Virginia Reel," August 7; "When a Stock of Honey, Unusual Find Out Here, Was Unearthed by Scout," August 9; "Colonel Montgomery Bryant, Long a Citizen Here, Was a Native of Ft. Leavenworth, His Birthday Being in December, 1831," August 10; "Memory of Fine Spirit in Brinton Darlington [Indian Agent] Endures in This Region," August 11; "Daughter of a Chief [Mrs. William Greiffenstein's Father Was Abram Burnett, Head of the Pottawatomies] Presided in Wichita Over Its Largest Homes," August 12; "Beef on Bill of Fare at Previous Period Here Was None Too Plentiful," August 13; "Account of Cofachiqui [Allen County], Early Center in Kansas, Survived for History," August 14; "Marked Influence of a Famous Story, the Carol by Charles Dickens, on the Frontier Community at Christmas Time," August

16; "One Very Rare Wine-Pot [Sought by the William Allen Whites] in This Part of Country May Be Adrift Again," August 17; "Kansas and California in Their Past Relations Presented Much Color," August 19; "Kansas Travel Contrast Between Modes Today and Ninety Years Ago," August 20; "Way the West Figures in American Thinking Vital in U. S. History [Exemplified in the Career of Jedediah Strong Smith]," August 26; "Contact for Wichita With Whaling Business Through the Airplane [Wichita-Made Craft]," August 30; "Inroads Family Made on Supplies of Spread [Jams and Jellies] in the Pioneer Home," September 7; "Rejection of Siesta by Early Wichitans Feature of Life Here," September 8; "Legends in the West Attached to Reptile, the Ground Rattlesnake," September 9; "Places That Were Quick in Getting Railroads Favored of Fortune," September 17; "Frontier Folk Imported Food for Their Tables to Fill Out the Supply," October 1; "Bringing Buffalo Calf Into Town After Hunt . . . With Early Wichita Offering No Evidence That Any One Ever Succeeded in Domesticating the Young Creature," October 2; "Topics of Conversation Offered in Wichita in the Pioneer Times," October 5; "Wichitans Had a Part in the Farming Drama . . . Community Came On to the Scene at an Hour When Revolutionary Changes in Agriculture Had Set in to Lighten Drudgery in Husbandry," October 6; "Beginning of Wichita Associated With Era Distinguished by Coal," October 7; "Struggle With Hunger by the Members of the [T. J.] Farnham Party Who Crossed the Plains in 1839," October 8; "Droves of Livestock Came Out of the West on Old Santa Fe Trail [Driven to the Missouri Market by T. J. Farnham and Party in 1839]," October 9; "[T. J. Farnham's] View of Old Fort Bent, Historic Trading Post on the Arkansas River," October 11; "Wichita Was a Witness to Change in Fashion of Prairie-Going Wagon," October 13; "Tragedies of Frontiers Once Included Battles With Giant Grizzlies," October 14; "Additions to Language Made by the Pioneers in Mississippi Valley," October 16; "Herd of Texas Cattle That Camped Overnight on Site of Wichita," October 19; "Demonstration of Fertility of This Soil in 1883 Which Notably Stimulated Immigration," October 20; "[Capt. John R. Bell's Party] Found Hunting Lodge on the Wichita Site Early in Last Century," October 21; "Hardships of Frontier Struck Down Two Dogs With [Captain Bell's] Exploring Party," October 22; "Horses of the Frontier That Helped Explore Prairies in This Area," October 23; "Difficulty About Food That Beset Travelers Crossing

the Prairies," October 25; "[Captain Bell's Party] Picked Place for Fort on the Arkansas River [Sleighs' Hill Near Present Oxford]," October 26; "Difference in Flora and Fauna Noted by Explorers Between the Country Along the Arkansas Here and the Walnut Valley," October 27; "Trying Experience of Thomas Nuttall of Philadelphia in His Voyage Up the Arkansas River in August and September, 1819," October 28; "Names Which the Indians, Spaniards, French and Americans Contributed to the Geography of This Section," October 29, and "Settlements on River That Long Preceded Appearance of Wichita," October 30.

Meade Baptist church history was recalled in the Meade *Globe-News*, August 5 and 12, 1943. The church was organized August 8, 1893, with the Rev. P. G. Shanklin, the first minister.

The early history of Fairfield township, Russell county, was reviewed by Homer Brookhart in the Russell *Record*, August 12, 16, 23, September 2, and 16, 1943. The series was titled "Thinking of the Past."

Paul I. Wellman sketched the history of George Grant's English settlement in Kansas in the 1870's, in an illustrated article in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, August 15, 1943, entitled: "Ghosts of 'Gay Young Lords' Still Haunt Victoria, Kansas." In the issue of August 22 Wellman discussed the late Arthur E. Stilwell and the building of the Kansas City Southern, and the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient railways. On August 29 he paid tribute to the Kansas Bureau of Investigation in an article entitled: "Bad Men of the Southwest Meet Their Masters in the K. B. I." Other Sunday feature articles of interest to Kansans include: "The Story of Col. Leon W. Johnson, Who Led the Air Attack on Ploesti Oil Field, Told by Those Who Knew Him in His School Days in Moline, Kas.," by Ira B. McCarty, September 5; "Now They're Really in the Army, It's the Soldier's Life for WACs—In the Command and General Staff and Service Units at Ft. Leavenworth Are Girls From Many Previous Jobs Now Busy With Military Tasks," September 12; a story of Mrs. Roy Hopkins, who lives west of Wichita, entitled "Her Day Is 16 Hours at Work In a War Plant And On a Farm," by Nell Snead, September 19.

Some of the highlights in the history of Meade were recalled by Don Rosenberry, city clerk, in the Meade *Globe-News*, August 26, 1943. The town was organized in 1885.

Forrest Warren, columnist-reporter on the San Diego (Cal.) *Union*, wrote of boyhood days in Vermillion and Frankfort in the Frankfort *Daily Index* of September 7, 14, and October 7, 1943.

The history of the Reformed Presbyterian church of Winchester, which recently celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary, was briefly reviewed by J. E. Gardiner in the Leavenworth *Times*, October 6, 1943, and the *Winchester Star*, October 15.

Reminiscences of W. T. Harbaugh who helped bury Spotted Horse, a Pawnee Indian chief, in Russell county in the middle 1870's, were printed in the *Russell Record*, October 25, 1943.

The history of old Trading Post, Linn county, was briefly sketched by Fred W. Brinkerhoff in the Pittsburg *Headlight*, November 10, 1943.

Discovery of oil in Russell county in 1923 and the subsequent development that led to the finding of the great pools of central and western Kansas was the subject of an editorial in the *El Dorado Times*, November 20, 1943. The *Russell Record* of November 22 reviewed the story at length in an article entitled "Fairport Field Discovered 20 Years Ago November 24."

Kansas Historical Notes

Science and the War is the title of a 47-page pamphlet featuring the symposium presented at the seventy-fifth anniversary meeting of the Kansas Academy of Science at Lawrence, April 10, 1943. The collection was preprinted from the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* for 1943 and contained a foreword by Robert Taft of the University of Kansas at Lawrence, editor of the *Transactions*, who briefly sketched the history of the academy, and the following papers: "Food in the War Effort," by L. E. Call, Kansas State College, Manhattan; "Relation of Physics to the War Effort," by J. Howard McMillen, Kansas State College; "Bacteriology, Medicine, and the War," by Noble P. Sherwood, University of Kansas; "Chemistry in the War Effort," by J. W. Greene, Kansas State College; "The Role of Botany in War-Time," by Paul B. Sears, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; "Geology in the Present War," by John C. Frye and Charles P. Kaiser, State Geological Survey of Kansas, Lawrence; "Relation of Zoölogy to the War Effort," by John Breukelman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia; "Some Contributions of Psychology Toward the War Effort," by Homer B. Reed, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, and "Relation of Entomology to the War Effort," by H. B. Hungerford, University of Kansas.

At a business session of the Wilson County Historical Society at Fredonia, September 4, 1943, resolutions were adopted paying tribute to the late W. H. Edmundson, organizer of the society. Mrs. Harry W. Smith, the retiring president, presided. Newly elected officers are: W. G. Fink, Fredonia, president; Mrs. C. O. Pingrey, Neodesha, vice-president; Mrs. Bernice Ludwick, Fredonia, secretary; Mrs. Grace L. Caughron, Neodesha, treasurer, and Mrs. C. E. Hall, New Albany, historian. County commissioners have granted the society permission to preserve its collections in the courtroom at Fredonia.

The twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of the Agricultural History Society will be held in Washington, D. C., February 14, 1944. The presidential address, to be given by Dr. James C. Malin of Lawrence, is titled "Space and History."

At the annual meeting of the Chase County Historical Society held in the courthouse at Cottonwood Falls, September 4, 1943, the

following officers were reelected: George T. Dawson, Elmdale, president; Henry Rogler, Matfield Green, vice-president; Mrs. Helen Austin, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; T. R. Wells, Elmdale, treasurer, and Mrs. Clara Hildebrand, Cottonwood Falls, chief historian. Though the society does not plan to publish the second volume of its historical series until after the war, it will continue to collect the material as usual.

The annual election of officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society of Johnson county was held September 27, 1943. The new officers are: Mrs. Percy L. Miller, Mission, president; Mrs. C. V. Scoville, Shawnee, vice-president; Mrs. K. S. Browne, Merriam, secretary; Mrs. Russell C. Swanson, Mission, treasurer; Mrs. Frank Lyle, Westwood View, corresponding secretary; Mrs. A. M. Meyers, historian, and Mrs. John Barclay, curator. The society has scheduled seven meetings for this year. Mrs. Clifton Shepard, Merriam, was the retiring president.

Wichita's oldest house, erected by D. S. Munger in 1868, has been purchased by the Eunice Sterling chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution through the efforts of Mrs. Robert Foulston, regent. The house is built of cottonwood logs and the chapter plans to restore it to its appearance in the late 1860's and 1870's. It was originally located at 901 North Waco but years later it was moved a short distance west to the present location between Waco and Back Bay boulevard.

The annual election of the Riley County Historical Society was held at Manhattan October 9, 1943. The new officers are: Chas. W. Emmons, president; Mrs. Cora Kimble Parker, vice-president; Mrs. Medora Hays Flick, secretary; Mrs. Caroline Abbott Smith, treasurer, and F. I. Burt, curator. The directors are: Joe Haines, Fred R. Smith, Mrs. Gertrude B. Failyer, Mrs. Loyal F. Payne, Mrs. Florence Fox Harrop, Walter E. McKeen, Sam Charlson, Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Flick. Fred R. Smith was the retiring president. A feature of the meeting was a paper on "Ashland Townsite," by Walter McKeen. The society maintains a log-cabin museum of early-day relics in the city park which is open every Sunday afternoon from one to five o'clock. On a recent Sunday visitors from thirty-seven states were registered.

The Kiowa County Historical Society held its annual pioneer reunion at Greensburg October 12, 1943, with over 200 persons in attendance. New officers are: Frank Dowell, Wellsford, president;

A. S. Barnes, Mullinville, first vice-president; Mrs. Sam Booth, Wilmore, second vice-president; Herbert Parkin, Greensburg, third vice-president; Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary, and Mrs. Charles T. Johnson, Greensburg, treasurer. Jesse W. Greenleaf was the retiring president.

Dolph Shaner has revised his articles on early Baxter Springs and the Baxter family, which were printed in the Joplin (Mo.) *Globe* early in 1943, and has reprinted them in a fourteen-page pamphlet under the title *John Baxter of Baxter Springs*.

The annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society was held at Detroit, October 12, 1943. The following officers were re-elected to serve for two years: Mrs. Carl Peterson, Enterprise, president; Mrs. E. E. Rohrer, Elmo, vice-president, and Mrs. H. M. (Georgia Nichols) Howard, Abilene, secretary. Fred Ramsey of Solomon was appointed second vice-president to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Bert Ramsey. The program featured family histories and the story of Lamb's Point or Old Detroit, which was founded by William Lamb. "The Lamb History," prepared by Mrs. Belle Lamb Hastings, was read by Mrs. Georgia Hastings Waffle. It was printed in the Enterprise *Journal*, October 14, and the Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*, November 2. The *Reflector-Chronicle* also published other historical papers, including: "How Detroit Started," by Mrs. H. M. Howard, November 1, and "Those Early Days," by Walter Lamb, November 6.

Dr. W. A. Elliott spoke on the early history of Ottawa at a meeting of the Franklin County Historical Society in the courthouse at Ottawa October 16, 1943. A number of books of historical interest which belonged to Frank Welch and U. M. Beachy have been presented to the society.

Officers of the Crawford County Historical Society re-elected at a business meeting held in Pittsburg October 19, 1943, include: Ralph H. Smith, Pittsburg, president; Harry B. Price, Cherokee, first vice-president; Mrs. Alice Gregg, McCune, second vice-president; Ralph J. Shideler, Girard, recording secretary; Mrs. O. P. Dellinger, Pittsburg, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. George Elliott, Pittsburg, treasurer. Ed Anderson, Farlington, Mrs. A. C. Graves, Pittsburg, and T. T. Gillihan, Cherokee, were newly elected to the board of directors, with J. H. Tharp, Cherokee, Miss Ellen Davidson, Mulberry, H. W. Shideler, Girard, Mrs. L. H. Dunton,

Arcadia, Mrs. J. U. Massey and Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, the hold-overs.

Several hundred persons attended ceremonies dedicating the recently-restored Iowa, Sauk and Fox mission building near Highland October 23, 1943. Gov. Andrew F. Schoeppel was a featured speaker. Highlights of the occasion were described in the *Highland Vidette* of November 4, which devoted more than a page to the celebration. Samuel M. and Eliza Irvin, Presbyterian missionaries, accompanied the Iowa, Sauk and Fox Indians of Missouri to present Doniphan county in 1837. They established a log-cabin mission and school and nine years later completed a three-story stone and brick building of 32 rooms. The building was closed in the early 1860's and soon was partly stripped for building materials used in Highland. The remaining portion was considerably damaged by time and weather before interested Kansans—and particularly, members of the Northeast Kansas Historical Society of Highland—found means to save it. The importance of the site was called to the attention of several legislatures before an appropriation of \$10,000 was secured in 1941. A board of trustees was created. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. C. C. Webb of Highland, the remaining structure, which had been used as a barn, was restored to its full three stories and is now operated as a state museum. Other members of the board of trustees are: Mrs. Fenn Ward, secretary, Roy A. Noll, Fred B. Misce, and C. E. Ward, all of Highland; F. H. Dillenbeck, Troy, and Kirke Mechem, State Historical Society, Topeka.

The Kansas Council of the American Pioneer Trails Association met at Marysville October 28, 1943. The council is assisting the Oregon council with the erection of 2,000 posts along the route of the old Oregon trail. The wooden markers, which are three inches square, several feet high, and stamped "Oregon Trail," are furnished without charge by the Oregon council. Probably 180—"one for every mile"—will be placed along the route in northeast Kansas. The Greater Kansas City council has placed one at Shawnee Methodist Mission in Johnson county and will locate another at the southwest corner of Westport Road and Pennsylvania. The Kansas council has made tentative plans to set up several in Marshall county. The Kansas council also has gone on record to mark other historic sites and trails in Kansas. John G. Ellenbecker, Marysville, is president of the council, and C. E. Hedrix, Marysville, is secretary.

Our Careers As Citizens (Beckley-Cardy Co., Chicago, 1943) is the title of a new 396-page textbook by W. M. Richards, superintendent of the Emporia schools, and Bliss Isely, authors of *Four Centuries in Kansas*. The book was designed as a simple, informative guide to the structure and operation of local, state and national government. Its seven major parts are titled: "Living and Working Together," "Background of Our American Republic," "How Laws Are Made," "Making the Will of the People Effective," "Our Country's Umpires," "Changing the Constitution," and "Responsibilities of Citizenship." Full texts of the constitution of the United States, its amendments, the Declaration of Independence, and a list of presidential candidates arranged in chronological, tabular form, are a part of the appendix.

If work projects are again sponsored by the federal government to take up slack in unemployment, Judge J. C. Ruppenthal of Russell recommends that each county start a master register which will contain "a minimum of personal data" on "every human being who ever lived in the county." Some years ago Judge Ruppenthal supervised a project in Russell which catalogued items of general interest as well as vital statistics of Russell county citizens, 1874-1933. Over 100,000 cards were prepared before the work was stopped. The catalogue is housed in the Russell City Library. Similarly Judge Ruppenthal has built up a personal index containing information on several thousand sometime residents of Russell county which has been helpful to fellow citizens who needed proof of age or residence. Copies of a part of these records have been filed by Judge Ruppenthal with the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka.

The story of "Bat Masterson; the Dodge City Years," was told by George G. Thompson in the fifty-five page *Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies, Language and Literature Series No. 1*, recently printed by the Kansas State Printing Plant, Topeka.

A 56-page booklet, "The Repair and Preservation of Records," by Adelaide E. Minogue, was published in September, 1943, by the National Archives, of Washington. It is No. 5 of the *Bulletins of the National Archives* series and is distributed by the Division of Information and Publications. The booklet was designed "to meet the need of archivists and custodians of manuscripts for a practical handbook based upon the most recent scientific investigations in the field of records preservation," and reviews the "causes of paper deterioration and the available methods of minimizing them, together with detailed working directions for the repair of damaged records materials of the kinds commonly encountered."

Communications

THE EDITOR OF THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY:

WINTER WHEAT RAISING IN EARLY WESTERN KANSAS.—I have had the opportunity of reading in the interesting *Quarterly* of August, 1941, the article by Prof. James C. Malin entitled: "Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production in the Upper Kansas and Lower Smoky Hill River Valleys." He takes the trouble to dispute my treatment of this topic in my book *Conquering Our Great American Plains*, but does not, unfortunately, inform the reader that I discoursed on winter wheat only in connection with the region from about the Sixth Principal Meridian on west. I included my county Dickinson bordering on the meridian on the east. For there at Abilene the battle was fought publicly in the early 1870's between the droughty plains and the winter-wheat culture as the one cash crop which might solve the acute agricultural puzzle and worry facing that part of the state.

Winter wheat and other crops had not succeeded here before 1871. My book sets forth that about July 1, 1871, my brother was much relieved over his gratifying harvest of five acres of winter wheat in our river bottom, the seed having been sown, of course, in the previous autumn. It was an experiment, a test, a demonstration, in front of a local doubting public anxious to know whether that country could ever be made prosperous independently of the Texas cattle trade. This trade provided the sensation of the time and inspired farmers, and my brother as will presently appear, with the idea of livestock, not crops, being the chief or only agricultural hope.

Professor Malin characterizes the story of the five acres in 1871 as the product of the imagination of a boy. It stands to reason that a lad of nearly eleven would not concern himself sufficiently with an extended and complicated agricultural matter to conceive of a fable about it. He would merely repeat what he heard from his elders at home and neighbors and others in stores and offices. My brother talked frequently to us of the incident and had always fretted over that country's prospects for farming because of the prevailing droughts.

Professor Malin was born about 1893, had no personal experience with the subject and is in no position to say what went on in my family twenty years before. The point at issue is whether dry western Kansas, as usually called there, was and had long been profitably raising winter wheat. His salient statement is: "Winter wheat had been raised on both bottom lands and *uplands* [the italics are mine] for years prior to T. C. Henry's activities. . . ." The sentence should include the word successfully or equivalent or it does not make practical or realistic sense. This was not a question of raising winter wheat for chicken feed.

I fear that he contradicted his statement in his pages immediately preceding. He there presents at some length, from a public address of my brother in 1870, the showing that winter wheat could not be counted on as a market or export crop, and that the main hope of farmers, he said, was to farm "eighty to 160 acres selected 'with the view to rearing stock.'" He supplements this remark by the following: "[I would grow] only so much grain as I [repre-

senting the farmer] needed for consumption upon my own farm" (including naturally the feeding of it into livestock, as such grain was of too poor quality to market or export). And if "I found myself with a surplus [of such grain], I should retain it for provision against a possible scarcity in the future. I should sow winter wheat, but do so early and in season."

Professor Malin comments apropos: "In the course of his [T. C. Henry's] remarks he described [this as] his ideal of a model farm." And adds: "He [T. C. H.] would sow rye and oats for stock feed to provide against a more or less complete corn failure once in every three or four years." Further: "as Henry was placing his greatest reliance at this time on livestock and diversified agriculture, his views on livestock and environment require emphasis." Professor Malin admits: "The general interpretation of agriculture and environment which Henry presented became a permanent part of his thinking, but his livestock theme is in sharp contrast with his reputation only five years later as the Wheat King of the Golden Belt. His views on livestock were more or less typical, however, of the time and circumstances." Would my brother have talked like this if winter wheat had, according to Professor Malin, been grown satisfactorily for years before the former's activities? Professor Malin acknowledges here the general opinion in 1870 to be that livestock, not crops, was the chief or only hope of farmers, crops having "fizzled out," thus disputing his salient statement given first above. Why would the government be busily giving away that land if everybody knew it would produce say twenty bushels of winter wheat to the acre which at eighty cents would bring a gross return of sixteen dollars?

Professor Malin seeks to prove his idea as to when my brother started winter-wheat raising by a sentence my brother wrote long afterward and by newspaper items. About 1904 my brother sent an article to the Kansas State Historical Society (published in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 502-506): ". . . In 1873 I was ready to introduce my system of winter-wheat culture, mainly based upon changes of methods, and then began operations." Professor Malin claims from this that my brother did not commence winter-wheat raising until 1873 instead of 1871 as I stated. The word "system" means in Webster: "An aggregation or assemblage of objects united by some form of regular interaction or interdependence. . . . An organized or methodically arranged set of ideas . . . a definite or set plan of ordering, operating, or proceeding." T. C. Henry had been reared in New York as a thorough farmer. Consequently in using the word system he indicated what this word clearly implies: practical experience, the trial and error plan. He was one who would experiment actually by farming as well as by observing other farmers, most of them being poor at the job.

In that contribution to the Society he did not wish, naturally, to consume space with every detail, for readers would merely be interested, if at all, in major points. In the fall of 1871 he had in more winter wheat and the next fall still more. He was feeling his way. Without such experience it would have been folly to open up a five hundred-acre farm of that crop in 1873 even on bottom land, upland being everywhere there considered worthless for crops. The operation necessitated the outlay of much cash and the fifty-fifty chance was that the crop would fail as a crop or fail of favorable financial results since wheat might drop to a new low on the market. He would

then be left with this property. It was a lusty invitation to bankruptcy. I am glad to take this opportunity of correcting for the record a statement in my book as he put in only some parcels of land in winter wheat in the fall of 1871.

The fact that the Henry farm in 1873 illustrated a unique example and won prominent attention also unsettles Professor Malin's self-contradictory contention. If all people who wanted to had long been successfully raising winter wheat in the Henry region there would not be need for this large and hazardous experimenting enterprise. Acreages do not count. What counts is the yield of an exportable grade of winter wheat which would sell on the great markets. National laws compelled homesteaders and preëmption right owners to put in a certain acreage of grain each year to justify their titles whether it failed or not or whether they wanted to or not. To be a success twenty bushels at least to the acre had to be raised.

In the T. C. Henry article written many years later for the Kansas State Historical Society's *Collections*, v. IX: "Sporadic attempts to grow winter wheat had been made in the county, but with irregular and precarious results." About 1881 he wrote: "The experience of the past few years has shown the settlers in western Kansas that winter-wheat raising is never a sure thing, and that other crops may be more profitably and surely raised."

It is perfectly true that a settler on a river or creek bank sowed or planted small patches of almost every sort of crop he could hear of in order to learn if they would thrive in this new home so different from any he had known. On the banks the soil is moist and water has seeped down, far down. Such land would be better fitted to resist drought, but was an infinitesimal proportion of the total desert expanse. Those inhabitants were nearly all wagon immigrants—those who had come before the railroads. They could not be classed as well-trained, hard-working farmers. What they raised was poor and fed habitually into their livestock. Professor Malin cites the case of James Bell at Abilene as a successful farmer, by implication a winter-wheat man. My brother wrote: "My first seed was grown by James Bell." I went to school on the Bell farm. It lay next to the town, smooth as a table top. It stretched along the creek and half a mile from the river. He had every advantage to raise winter wheat but it "did not give a large yield"—a customary mild way of acknowledging it virtually failed. In 1873, tired of the competition with dry weather, Mr. Bell sold out and moved out of the state.

Most of Professor Malin's paper relates to Kansas from Junction City eastward, and is beyond the scope of my book and therefore not for consideration here. We regarded Geary county as in eastern Kansas. It was more adapted for agriculture. The occasional vagueness or incompleteness in his language tends to create false pictures. He notes cotton as apparently a good crop. "Cotton was grown as far west as Geary county during the early sixties, and was listed in 1864 among the proven drought-resistant crops." Citizens from Mars would gather that Kansas was quite a cotton state. He classes uplands and bottom lands together as equally prosperous crop raisers. In county recorders' offices can be read the prices in deeds of land and farm sales indicating plainly that more was paid for bottom lands.

In addition to emphasizing the one "system" sentence above of my brother, Professor Malin depends on a few newspaper items to back up his winter-

wheat theory. This is an inconclusive and misleading basis. If a baby swallows a safety pin and is bundled off to Philadelphia for a dangerous operation, that is news for a newspaper. The millions of babies who do not swallow safety pins or do not need to submit to a miraculous feat of surgery, do not provide news items. Friends from Mars, reading our press, should not jump into the conviction that American babies generally have safety pins in their throats or stomachs. If a farmer of my region in 1870 dropped in on an editor and said: "I have been raising winter wheat," it would be printed as out of the ordinary. But such items would not disclose how much acreage he had in and the kind of land and how many bushels he harvested to the acre. It would be a small patch in a river or creek bend with an unsatisfactory history as seen in the James Bell instance. It should not be interpreted as indicating that farmers flourished in raising that crop.

In all western Kansas Professor Malin could accumulate seven newspaper items on winter wheat. These bear evidence that the topic was exceptional enough to provide news. To be able to rely on the accuracy and relative value of such gossip in any place at any time one should know the editor and the farmer. Not everybody in the world could be called reliable. News items were not always correct. Especially was this true in western Kansas. For newspapers and many inhabitants there formed an informal conspiracy, regardless of facts, to boom the country for farming in order to induce a greater influx of immigrants with money. The citizens had something to sell and only Easterners had cash. Farms and businesses were for sale and also homes. To combat the dry weather discouraged residents. They dreaded the incandescent summers and wished to go on to the enchanting and picturesque West. Any item or idea that the plains possessed widespread agricultural chances went into the printing room. Hardly any story was too "tall" for publication. If a subscriber told editors that he raised pineapples, they would hurry to publish, perhaps tongue in cheek, this electrifying information. Droughts, blizzards, chinch bugs and the other drawbacks were played down.

The seven items Professor Malin culled came from my town paper, the Abilene *Chronicle*, in the early 1870's. That journal had, he admits, a booming column. It bravely printed market reports of crops when none worth mentioning was at hand to sell. It scattered agricultural notes about in different issues with no relation to the general facts and general conditions throughout the county and that region. Our editor could blandly put forth a paragraph like this in unmeasured praise of our wonderful Kansas: "Even that year [the drought year of 1860] the upland prairies produced as much as 15 bushels of winter wheat to the acre. The wheat crop never fails here. . . ." The item exposes the inefficacy of the *Chronicle* as a historical guide. The first unverified sentence, if correct, could apply merely to eastern Kansas. The second sentence is, of course, an absurdity. No non-irrigated crop anywhere never fails. By 1874 our farm population could accumulate so little reserves that that dreadful time of drought and grasshoppers brought them to the verge of destitution and starvation. Urgent, piteous appeals were dispatched to Washington and for Eastern charities to send food, clothing and seed grain. I saw boxes of this "relief" dumped on our depot platform before a grateful community.

Our boasting town paper in 1870 advertised that Abilene had a flour mill.

The small mill stood on the river some miles below Abilene and toward Geary county. Agreeably to custom in booming, what existed elsewhere was made to appear as if reaching over to where the writer lived. From Professor Malin: "Most of the wheat produced, however, was shipped east, a large part at least, to the Shawnee mills at Topeka. A large quantity of the winter-wheat crop harvested in 1870 was supposed to be still in the farmers' hands in January, 1871; some farmers were credited with shipping a carload at a time, and the local grain dealers were paying eighty cents per bushel." Wherever this was it was not in the Abilene district. How did it happen that those farmers four years later were poverty-stricken, with little to eat and begging for charity from the East?

Here again Professor Malin contradicts what he set forth before readers apropos of the T. C. Henry speech of 1870. The speech showed, to repeat, that livestock, not winter wheat, was regarded as the only good prospect for farmers. Since even James Bell, the best pioneer farmer in Dickinson county had enjoyed no success in winter wheat right by town, it can be judged that this crop cut little figure except in the imagination. But to brag of the plains was in the air. Professor Malin speaks of dealers in flour advertising winter-wheat flour, "a distinction which was significant, not only for flour, but which was a mile post in the approaching ascendancy of winter-wheat production in the upper Kansas valley." The Abilene flour merchants were the small retail grocery stores which sold sacks of flour along with other little commodities to the homes. This flour could be said to come from outside the county as I had reason to know because I marketed for the family.

Pioneer newspaper items, where the journals were necessarily poor and cheap in early dry western Kansas, with no expert staffs and no facilities for verifying items, do not furnish an adequate and secure foundation for the writing of history. Their items were not coördinated nor connected up to provide a comprehensive and convincing body of general fact or general truth. They were stray, dispersed morsels of unsubstantiated gossip. Interesting as curious, unexpected or exceptional side lights for what they were worth they are not sufficient for the firm rebuilding of an epoch to be read of with confidence by posterity.

The following transaction in 1882 settles finally the question of early successful winter-wheat raising in western Kansas. The records of the land department of the M. K. & T. railroad show that my brother then formed a syndicate of New York monied men and bought all the railroad's uplands—about a hundred thousand acres. They were smoothly rolling, beautiful and of the best grade of the kind. They lay in northwestern Morris county and southeastern Dickinson, extending from eighteen to twenty-eight miles southwest of Junction City and seventy miles west of Topeka. I was the financial detail man in the operation. The average price of the purchase stood at a dollar and eighty-seven and a half cents an acre on very long time and very easy installments. The speculation was held to be highly doubtful. In fear of droughts the syndicate hastened to sell out in parcels at a net profit of about a dollar an acre. As only ten percent had been paid down the syndicate had fortunately had to invest but a small sum. That is, it made a quick profit of a hundred thousand dollars on an outlay of about twenty thousand dollars.

Since those lands were still on the market and almost worthless proves

bluntly how the country in the longitude between Junction City and Abilene had not been prosperously raising winter wheat before 1871. Professor Malin should not have relied so much on journalistic data, for what is journalistic is, following Webster, characterized by haste, superficiality of thought, inaccuracies of detail, and sensationalism. Had he, instead, examined the nominal prices in farm sales in the deeds in the county recorders' offices of those western counties, he would have seen that these prices had not been affected by any gratifying winter-wheat crops, and that uplands were in an inferior category compared to bottoms. This would be incontrovertible evidence. For it is the crop yields which in the main govern the prices of farms.

In his resurrection of newspaper items he is only able to bring to light one small grist mill, some carloads of winter wheat from one does not know where, and no grain elevator, in the two-thirds part of the state. He could not do more for that would not have been western Kansas in 1870.

*4 Ardsley Road,
Douglaston, L. I.*

STUART HENRY.

THE EDITOR OF THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY:

I have read Stuart Henry's letter relative to my winter-wheat articles. He has made no contribution and is much confused on the whole subject. The issue I raised was the story of the secret five acres and there is no reason for modifying any part of what I wrote relative to that. I shall trust to the good judgment of the readers of my four articles as to whether or not they are sound.

University of Kansas.

JAMES C. MALIN.

Erratum in Volume XII

Page 332, thirteenth line from bottom, read "Jaccard" instead of "Jacord."

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